

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. LXXXIV.—APRIL, 1856

ARTICLE I.—THE JANSENISTS.

FOR that society of men and women who bore the honored name of Port Royalists we confess to a high veneration, and, we think, with reason, if genius and learning, the consecration of these endowments to the most exalted purposes, and the resolute defence of the doctrines of grace, in opposition to the atrocious principles and lax morality of their enemies, the Jesuits, deserve grateful remembrance. We are sorry to add, that they retained many of the errors of the Romish church. There was something singular in their position. They most sincerely loved and beautifully exemplified those doctrines of grace, and cultivated that regard for the Scriptures, which are inconsistent with Romanism, and yet, to the very last, they strangely clung to the Romish church, even when denounced as heretics and persecuted by that cruel mother with unrelenting ferocity.

The Jansenists were a portion of the Roman Catholic church which received its name from Cornelius Jansen, or Jansenius, a professor of theology at Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres, in the Netherlands. He was born in the year 1585, and bore a distinguished reputation for piety and learning. He was an ardent admirer of the writings of Augustine, and spent a large portion of his life in their diligent study, and in the preparation of his great work 'Augustinus,' in which he exhibits the views of that illustrious father of the church,

especially upon the doctrines of grace. The theology of Jansen was essentially evangelical and Calvinistic, though his followers earnestly repudiated the latter term. Just before his death, he left his work entirely subject to the Pope's disposal; but this disposition was disregarded by his friends, and, two years after the author's decease, it was printed. It immediately excited an intense interest, and a warfare which ended only with the extermination of the society which adopted his principles. The doctrines advocated in this work had a warm admirer in an intimate friend of Jansenius, Mons. du Vergier, afterward the famous Abbé St. Cyran, who was also a careful student of Augustine.

Du Vergier was born in 1581, and studied at the universities of Paris and Louvain. At the latter place he and Jansenius formed a close friendship, which was followed by most important results. Their theological sentiments were the same, and when the '*Augustinus*' appeared, it at once found an able and appreciating defender in the surviving friend. He had already taught the doctrines of this work in France, among many who belonged, or afterward became attached to, the Society of Port Royal; and it was principally to the members of this body, as holding the religious views of Jansenius, that about the year 1640, the name Jansenist was applied. St. Cyran was therefore properly the founder of Jansenism, as an organized system, if any *man* can claim that honor; for, says Vinet, though the name of a man or a book was afterward imposed on this society, it did not in reality originate with either man or book, but is, so to speak, a spiritual and ascetic school, disowned by Catholicism, yet obstinately refusing to retaliate that disavowal.

The term Port Royal is much older than that of Jansenist, though they are often used interchangeably. The former may be traced as far back as the thirteenth century, when (1233) a Cistercian convent was founded, about six leagues from Paris, called Port Royal des Champs, for the reception of twelve ladies. It gradually increased in wealth and privileges, but, alas! fearfully degenerated from the strict principles of the order of St. Benedict, to which it belonged. About the close of the reign of Henry IV., the nuns became noto-

rious for gaiety, and love of dress and pleasure. Such was its character, when the advocate-general to the king sought and gained for his grand-daughter—afterward the illustrious Mere Angelique—then in her *eighth* year, the office of Lady Abbess, the duties of which she assumed in her eleventh year—a young mother, truly! She was one of twenty children who bore a name long illustrious in France—and also in the annals of Port Royal—that of Arnauld*. All these children became attached to the Jansenist party, and the widowed mother was also a member of the Port Royal Society.

The Mere Angelique, who had entered upon the duties of her office altogether in a worldly spirit, which also entirely characterized the nuns under her guidance, received, at length, in her seventeenth year, a new impulse in a higher direction. A Capuchin friar,* who afterward, in England, openly renounced popery, preached at Port Royal a discourse so evangelical and impressive as to produce a deep effect upon the mind of the young abbess. She became a changed woman, and with the energy characteristic of her family, and of her own powerful mind, she undertook the arduous work of “reforming” the convent. Her success was remarkable. Within five years the aspect of the place was entirely changed, and rigorous, not to say extreme austerities, superseded former gaiety and dissipation.

The nuns were taught to consider every instance of self-denial or devotion as worthless, unless it arose from love to God; and, that this was the mainspring of her religious character, we cannot for a moment doubt. The proofs of this are scattered through her life, and made doubly strong by her glorious death. The spirituality of her views, and especially her supreme love to Christ, and reliance upon his merits, are clearly shown in a book of devotion which she prepared, and which was condemned at Rome.

Under her powerful influence, aided also by other devoted persons, Port Royal became the abode of unquestionable piety—a light shining in a dark place.

The unhealthiness of the site of Port Royal des Champs, in

* Father Basil.

the valley of Chevreuse, caused the removal of the community, in 1645, to Paris, where Madame Arnauld, mother of the abbess, had purchased for them a large house, with magnificent gardens. A chaplain was left in the country to supply the parish church and take care of the house. The two monasteries formed one abbey, distinguished by the names Port Royal de Paris, and Port Royal des Champs.

The Abbé St. Cyran, who had already formed an acquaintance with some members of the Arnauld family, became the intimate friend and counsellor of the Abbess Angelique, and his was now the ruling spirit which formed the character and directed the movements of Port Royal. He appears to have been a man of vigorous, cultivated and well-balanced mind, and of devoted piety—firm and decided, yet humble and childlike. The Jansenist historians are extravagant in his praises; but after making every deduction for partiality or blind affection, and for unscriptural austerities, we must acknowledge him to have stood in the front ranks of piety. He appears to have been evangelical in his views of doctrine, and a most zealous advocate of spiritual religion, in opposition to the ceremonialism, or loose theology and morals which were so common in his church, especially among the Jesuits. His genius and learning procured him the offer of distinguished places in the church, but he refused them all, preferring seclusion, and the humble office of a pastor. For his rigid spirituality, displayed in the defence of a little work which had controverted the easy theology of Cardinal Richelieu, he incurred the displeasure of that ambitious prelate, and was thrown into prison, where he remained five years. But from that dungeon he exerted a constant and powerful influence, by means of an extensive correspondence. He was the acknowledged director of Port Royal, and regulated all its operations, chiefly through Father Singlin, the confessor of the community, a man of kindred spirit.

Chiefly under the influence of St. Cyran, both before and after his imprisonment, a large number of persons, some of them occupying distinguished stations, and eminent also for talent and learning, were led to abandon society, and the emoluments and honors of the world, in order to devote

themselves wholly to the cultivation of piety and to deeds of charity. These men retired to the abandoned monastery of Port Royal des Champs, the better to carry out their pious designs. They were called Recluses, and "were bound by no vows, and assumed the dress of no particular order," but sought to "imitate Christ, by a life of voluntary poverty, penance, and self-denial. Their time was divided between their devotion to God and their services to men. They all met together several times, both in the day and night, in the church. Twice each day the whole company attended the refectory. Some hours were occupied by each in their own cells, in meditation, in private prayer, and in diligently studying the Scriptures. The remainder of their time was taken up in labors of love for their fellow-creatures," each one, under the direction of the imprisoned St. Cyran, performing the office assigned him, however humble, according to his particular talent. Many of these were high-bred gentlemen, yet they gracefully condescended to the most ordinary employments, in the service of the community, for the benefit of the poor, and the instruction of mankind. Port Royal became, in fact, a "college of learned men," especially devoted to the education of the young; and their schools acquired a world-wide fame as "aiming at a more thorough course of study, with useful improvements in the method of instruction." Some of their number prepared books for, and taught schools; others wrote in defence of Christianity, or of their own peculiar views; others practised as physicians, among the poor; others settled disputes among their neighbors; and in unnumbered ways they sought to promote their own spiritual growth and the good of mankind. Here were prepared the Port Royal Greek and Latin Grammars, which obtained a wide celebrity, and, with other kindred works, gave an important impulse to the cause of classical learning. Here, in part, were composed the theological works of the "great Arnauld," the writer of one hundred and four volumes, which, says Voltaire,* had great currency in the author's day, but which, as being mainly controversial, have shared the fate of

* *Siecle de Louis XIV.*, Tom. II.

the disputes that gave rise to them. Arnauld was a man of indomitable spirit, as is manifest in the reply which, after long years of toil and persecution, he made to his friend Nicole, whom he wished to engage in a new enterprise, but who had demurred, with the words, "We are now old; is it not time to rest?" "Rest!" exclaimed the unconquerable leader, "have we not all eternity to rest in?" From this retreat issued the Moral Essays of Nicole; and, under the auspices of Port Royal, De Saci prepared his French translation of the Bible; a work principally composed in the Bastille, where the author was for two years a prisoner for the truth's sake; and which, though scarcely meriting the place assigned it by his countrymen, has received the commendation of eminent scholars, and is still circulated, we believe, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. De Saci was an ardent lover of God's Word, and a man of beautiful humility, and also of fortitude and courage, such as true love inspires. He deserves a place among those prison worthies, Luther and Bunyan, from whose seclusion went forth a light to the ends of the earth.

Here should be mentioned the great historian, Tillemont, of whom Gibbon speaks with high respect; Fontaine, who wrote several works, and was distinguished for learning and piety; Rollin, the well-known historian; and Du Quesnel, the author of valuable "Reflections on the New Testament," which brought down upon him and his work the denunciations of the same infallible pope, Clement XI., who, at its first appearance had greatly praised it.* Racine, the celebrated dramatist, and, according to Voltaire, the poet who of all others best understood the human heart, was educated at Port Royal, and became its historian and advocate. Boileau, "the most perfect and most pure of French satirists," was the "personal friend of Arnauld and Pascal;" and Madame Sevigné, "the most graceful and simple of French letter-writers," was an admirer of the Jansenists, and felt the influence of their piety. And chief of all, Pascal, though not strictly

* "An excellent book," said the pope to the Abbé Renaudot. "We have no one at Rome who can write thus. I could wish to have the author near me."—*Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.*

connected with the Port Royal Society, was closely identified with it in his sympathies and religious principles and practices, and occasionally retired to its solitude for spiritual discipline; and it was in defence of its leader, Arnould, and to expose the Jesuits, that he wrote his famous Provincial Letters. This work had a powerful influence in turning the tide of public sentiment in favor of the Jansenists, and against the Society of Loyola.

To these distinguished names we may add that of Le Maitre, the most eloquent advocate of his day at the French bar, who renounced all his honors and retired to the seclusion of Port Royal. Among the nuns, the Abbess Angelique was a woman of vigorous and cultivated mind, of which fact she has left behind no inconsiderable proofs; and Jacqueline Pascal, also one of their number, was an every way worthy sister of the renowned author of the 'Provincials.' Vinet speaks of her "noble intellect," and of "everything that she wrote as bearing the stamp of mental superiority." Of her famous letter on the 'Formulary,' he says: "Closeness, sagacity, vigor of argument, energy of language, every ingredient of eloquence is there, and stands out in fine relief from an admirable background of humility." With reference to the brother and sister he finely says:

It is possible that in the history of certain races there may occur an illustrious moment in which the type of that race, after long elaboration, attains its distinct degree of energy and perfection, sets its distinct and deep imprint on two or three medals, and then is broken forever. It was so in the case of Blaise and Jacqueline—two precious vases, shattered by the mighty workings of truth, genius, and feeling within them. The covering was too frail to resist the internal pressure, and perhaps, if stronger, it might have fared no better. Blaise died at the age of thirty-nine; Jacqueline three years younger. But this brief space sufficed them to set the world a noble, an imperishable example.*

The literary and theological works which issued from Port Royal, formed an epoch in French literature. This was its Augustan age:

"It would not be too much to assert," says Ranke (*History of the Popes*), "that this mass of men of high intellect and filled with noble objects, who, in their mutual intercourse, and by their original and unassisted efforts, gave rise to a new tone of expression and a new method of communicating ideas, had a most remarkable influence on the whole form

* Vinet's Essay, 'Jacqueline Pascal,' p. 245.

and character of the literature of France, and hence, of Europe; and that the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV. may be in part ascribed to the Society of Port Royal." "The literature of the nation," says Dr. Williams (*Miscellanies*), "in logic and in style, in sobriety and manly vigor of thought, as well as in purity of moral and religious character, was rapidly advanced by the devout Port Royalists." "This Society presented a union of great talents, profound learning, and sincere piety, which has rarely been excelled. (*Amer. Cyclop.*)

To return to the convent. The nuns at Port Royal having greatly increased in numbers (they now exceeding one-hundred-and-eighty), it became necessary, in 1648, to divide them, and a portion resumed the old habitation of Port Royal des Champs, after an absence of twenty-five years. The two houses, however, formed but one community. The "recluses," or solitaires, retired from the convent to a farm in the neighborhood; they and the nuns meeting only at church, but both under the same spiritual direction, and animated by the same spirit. The breath of even suspicion has never impeached the purity of the principles and lives of these devoted men and women. However mistaken and in many cases unscriptural may have been their methods, their objects were ever noble—piety and charity. They led no idle life, nor gave themselves up to spiritual raptures, like the mystics. They earnestly cultivated practical piety, and devoted special attention to the education of youth; so that their schools rivalled those of the Jesuits, and obtained a wide and well-deserved celebrity. Here they merit high praise. Their system of education was thorough and strict, yet conducted with tenderness and forbearance; and under the tuition of the nuns "great numbers of young ladies were educated, who afterward edified the world, the court, and the cloister, by their wisdom, piety, and talent;" and it was remarked, that the pupils always retained strong feelings of affection for their teachers. And, while a superior literary education was aimed at, they were especially careful of the moral and religious culture of the young, instructing them in the truths of Christianity—the Scriptures being habitually studied in French and Latin.

The institution of Port Royal, in its two branches, now enjoyed a season of great prosperity; so that at one time, beside 250 stated inhabitants of the community, there were

between 300 and 400 pupils; and the "recluses" and occasional residents in the vicinity amounted to several hundred more. An extensive correspondence was also carried on, by which the influence of the Society was widely extended.

It should be added, that beside its usefulness in the department of education, it was distinguished for its extensive charities, both in the city and the country, means being furnished by benevolent friends. Indeed, at one time, when war was raging, Port Royal became an asylum and a hospital where several hundreds were supplied with food, and multitudes of sick and wounded were cared for.

Having given this general description of Port Royal, we would present a more particular view of its religious opinions and practices. And as we proceed we shall find its position in the religious world to have been quite anomalous. Now it seems to present an aspect of apostolic purity, and we are almost ready to exclaim with delight, Here surely primitive piety is revived; but in a moment we are tempted to turn our praise into unmitigated censure, so strangely and suddenly do seeming contradictions meet and blend in this remarkable society. More Protestant than Papal, it yet clings to Rome and denounces Luther and Calvin. Now its members seem caught up into the "third heavens" of devotion, and again we see them bowing at the feet of a man, called the Head of the Church. And yet in spite of all, the conviction forces itself upon us that the Jansenists were, as a body, truly devout, sincere believers in Christ.

What most strikes our Protestant wonder and admiration is, their singular veneration for the Sacred Scriptures, and their earnest efforts to translate and circulate them. In this they departed widely from the authorized practice of the Romish church. Thus Pius VII. declared:

We are worn down with poignant and bitter grief at hearing of the pernicious design, not very long ago entered upon, by which the most holy books of the Bible are everywhere dispersed in the several vernacular tongues. If we lament that men, the most renowned for piety and wisdom, have often failed in interpreting Scripture, what may not be feared if the Scriptures, translated into every vulgar tongue, are allowed to be freely read by the ignorant common people?

To this language of an *infallible* pope, uttering the senti-

ment of a church which boasts of never changing, we add the distinguished endorsement of Cardinal Wiseman. In his work entitled, 'The Catholic Doctrine of the Use of the Bible,' he says, "Though the Scriptures may be permitted, we do not urge them upon our people. We do not encourage them to read them."

Surely there is a wide gulf here between the Vatican and Port Royal. We see the Bible translated by one member of this Society into the common language, and an excellent commentary on the New Testament prepared by another, beside eighteen volumes of Instructions to the nuns on the Scripture of the day; we see the Bible forming the subject of daily study by every member, taught in their schools, carried by their devout physicians in their visits among the sick and poor, and in all their writings earnestly commended to every one, so that even their servants were distinguished for their knowledge of its truths. Under the auspices of Port Royal the *Mons* translation of the New Testament was prepared, by a company of learned ecclesiastics. The 'Memoirs' of the Society inform us that the "recluses" spent several hours of each day in private meditation, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures. They were advised to "begin by studying the Holy Scripture itself, without any commentary, only seeking for edification."

"In short," to use the language of, probably, St. Cyran, "draw continually from this pure source; the sacred waters have this peculiarity, that they proportion and accommodate themselves to the wants of every one; a lamb may ford them without fear, to quench his thirst; and an elephant may swim there, and find no bottom to their depths. A bishop of these latter times declared that he would go to the ends of the world with St. Augustine, but I would go there with the Bible. O, that I could but impress my heart with a fuller sense of the sacred respect with which that sacred volume should ever be perused."

To the nuns, the language of the Constitutions of Port Royal is:

Let them try to fill the treasury of their minds with God's Word, which is more desirable than gold or precious stones; so will the languishing flame of devotion in their souls be quickened by contact with that divine truth, for the Word of the Lord is full of fire.

It was a saying of St. Cyran:

"That the Holy Scriptures had been penned by the *direct* beam of the

Holy Spirit; the works of the Fathers (excellent as they were) only by the *reflex* ray emanating therefrom." "The Fathers read the Scriptures alone, and we likewise should find ALL there, if we in truth searched them as we ought. Every word in Scripture deserves to be weighed more attentively than pieces of gold." . . . "God has various ways of drawing souls to Himself," he wrote to a friend, "yet I think you have cause to be particularly thankful that your heart, when it was first touched, was awakened by the Words of Christ himself in the Gospel. For surely no means of conversion can be more apostolic than the Word of God. This is the great means of conversion which God himself has appointed. By the sole distribution and dispersion of the Scriptures it is that God has converted, and still does convert, both Jews and Pagans. The Scriptures are the grand instrument by which God originally founded his church, and by which He still continually reforms, maintains, and augments it."*

To the Jesuits who would compel the nuns of Port Royal to sign the formulary (which we shall refer to hereafter), against their consciences, one of them replied:

All conscience is founded upon the Word of God, who is without variation or shadow of turning, and whose Word is immutable and cannot be broken. When the conscience is once formed, it cannot, therefore, be *re-formed*. Conscience must be solidly grounded, formed upon the rock of the Word of God, and not be continually re-formed on the shifting sands of the versatile notions of men:

And this was said with reference to a papal injunction to sign the formulary.

Among the one-hundred-and-one propositions condemned by the Pope, in the New Testament of Quesnel, who was at one time Director of Port Royal, are the following:

The study of the Scriptures is proper for all. To take away the New Testament from Christians, or to withhold from them the means of understanding it, is to shut up the mouth of Christ. To oppose the study of the Scriptures, especially of the Gospels, is to withdraw from the children the use of light, and place the Scriptures themselves under excommunication.

In conjunction with the Port Royalists, the Bishop of Al  t, in the South of France, a man of kindred spirit, labored to extend the reading of the Scriptures among the people. He strongly urged De Saci and others to undertake a new translation for general use, and he inculcated upon the students in his theological seminary the diligent study of the Bible. As the result of these efforts, a great number of copies were sold or distributed gratis by the private Bible Societies which were established; and even, for a time, the

French government and many of the bishops engaged in this good work, while yet Jesuit influence had not gained complete ascendancy—an influence always opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures. In many cases, however, the French bishops appear to have been driven to a show of zeal by the efforts of the Protestants.

Knowing the veneration of the Jansenists for the Word of God, we are not surprised to find them zealous advocates of the doctrine of *justification by faith* in the sacrifice and merits of Jesus Christ. This doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, taught also by Augustine, and afterward by his disciple, Jansenius, was acknowledged by his followers even in the face of bitter persecution :

"The true use of the written Word," wrote De Saci, "is to lead us to the living Word, which can alone invigorate and cure our souls, just as the steady contemplation of the brazen serpent could alone cure the wounds inflicted by the fiery serpents." "The more we attach ourselves with singleness of eye to contemplate Christ upon the cross, and his wounds, which are the cure of ours, the more benefit shall we receive from that divine power which flows from Him to us, in order to bring us back to Him who is alone our strength and our rest. The sufferings of Christ are all our merits and plea; they are the source of all the mercies and grace we receive; it is by them only that we become living members of Christ Jesus. The Cross of Christ is an abundant and superabundant source of mercy; the Cross of Christ alone it is which sanctifies not only the blessed Virgin and St. John, but also the penitent thief and Mary Magdalen. The one no longer considered that he was a robber, nor the other that she was a sinner. They only considered those fountains of blood which poured from the body of Jesus Christ, as fully sufficient to drown, as in a holy deluge, the sins of the whole world. There they looked, and looking, found their cure.

"We indeed are, by the natural creation of Adam, nothing but sin, ingratitude, and pride; and we see nothing in ourselves but subjects of guilt, condemnation, and remorse. But that faith, by a vital reception of which we are Christians, after showing us this ground of corruption and sin, which ought profoundly to humble us, shows us with it the infinite mercy of God, founded upon the blood of Jesus Christ, as mediator and reconciler of men with God. We must then unite these two views, which ought never to be separated—the view of ourselves and our sins, and the view of Jesus Christ and of his merits. The first terrifies, the second reassures. The first deeply humbles, the second elevates, with what St. Augustine terms a holy presumption—the fruit not of pride, but of faith—and this confidence is firm, because it is humble. It is founded on the entire annihilation of hope from man; but on the mercy of God, and the efficacy of the blood of Christ—both of which are infinite.

"As for myself, I feel that I am poor interiorly; that I am destitute of every good thing; but O, my God, thou hast undertaken to cure me. God alone can be the physician of the soul. The blood of God alone can be our remedy; the Spirit of God alone can achieve our cure."*

* De Saci's Letters, vol. ii., pp. 677, 678.

What Christian heart can fail to respond to the following sentiments, so decidedly evangelical (excepting, of course, the allusion to transubstantiation), of one of the Port Royalist nuns, Madame de Valois, while undergoing cruel sufferings for her fidelity to the truth, and deprived of the sacraments of the church?

If I cannot have fellowship with my sisters, in partaking of thy most sacred body, and most precious blood, enable me, O Lord, to have fellowship and communion with thee, in thy sufferings; *thy sufferings* which are *the whole of our merits*, and which form our sole *plea of mercy* before the throne of God. By them alone it is that we are redeemed from death, and become living members of Jesus Christ; and by faith in them, by an intimate union with this divine Head, it is, that we become one body with Him; through Him alone it is, that God is willing to accept our bodies as a living sacrifice. There is but *one sacrifice* for sin; even the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, which sacrifice was regarded by the eye of faith by all the saints of old times. I not only hope, but I trust, with full assurance, to obtain the pardon of all my sins, by offering by faith Jesus Christ, the alone true victim for the expiation of *all sin*.*

What more evangelical sentiment could be uttered than fell from the lips of the dying Angelique, abbess of Port Royal? "The mercy of God! All is included in that word *mercy*! Jesus! Jesus! thou art my God, my strength, my justification!"

Upon the subject of special, efficacious *grace*, the Jansenists did not differ materially from Calvin and the Reformers generally, as indeed they could not as followers of Augustine, between whom and Calvin there is an essential correspondence. And yet, for fear of being branded as heretics and Calvinists, a charge which the Jesuits were ever ready to bring against them, they tried to make out a difference upon this point between Port Royal and Geneva. Pascal attempted this in his eighteenth 'Provincial Letter,' but with little success; his vindication of the Jansenists from the "heresy" of Calvinism being based for the most part upon a misunderstanding, or misrepresentation, unintentional of course, of the French Reformer. Wherein, for instance, does the following fine passage from Pascal differ from the Reformed doctrine:

They [the Jansenists] know too well that man, of his own nature, has always the power of sinning, and of resisting grace; and that, since

* Memoirs of Port Royal, vol. ii., pp 108, 109, 110.

he became corrupt, he unhappily carries in his breast a fountain of concupiscence, which infinitely augments that power; but, that notwithstanding this, when it pleases God to visit him with his mercy, he makes the soul to do what he wills, and in the manner he wills it to be done, while, at the same time, the infallibility of the divine operation does not in any way destroy the natural liberty of man, in consequence of the secret and wonderful ways by which God operates this change. This has been most wonderfully explained by St. Augustine, in such a way as to dissipate all those imaginary inconsistencies which the opponents of efficacious grace suppose to exist between the sovereign power of grace over the free will and the power which the free will has to resist grace. For, according to that great saint, whom the popes and the church have held to be a standard authority on this subject, God transforms the heart of man, by shedding abroad in it a heavenly sweetness, which, surmounting the delights of the flesh, and inducing him to feel, on the one hand, his own mortality and nothingness, and to discover, on the other hand, the majesty and eternity of God, makes him conceive a distaste for the pleasures of sin, which interpose between him and incorruptible happiness. Finding his chiefest joy in the God who charms him, his soul is drawn towards him infallibly, but of its own accord, by a motion perfectly free, spontaneous, love-impelled; so that it would be its torment and punishment to be separated from him. Not but that the person has always the power of forsaking his God, and that he may not actually forsake him, provided he choose to do it. But how *could* he choose such a course, seeing that the will always inclines to that which is most agreeable to it, and that in the case we now suppose nothing can be more agreeable than the possession of that *one good*, which comprises in itself all other good things. '*Quod enim* (says St. Augustine) *amplius nos delectat, secundum operemur necesse est*—Our actions are necessarily determined by that which affords us the greatest pleasure.' Such is the manner in which God regulates the free will of man without encroaching on its freedom, and in which the free will, which always may, but never will, resist his grace, turns to God with a movement as voluntary as it is irresistible, whensoever he is pleased to draw it to himself by the sweet constraint of his efficacious inspirations.*

We are reminded of a similar passage in Luther: a comment upon John, vi. 44:

This drawing [of the Father] is not such as the hangman employs when he carries a thief up the ladder and to the gallows; but it is a kind attraction and drawing towards himself, as sometimes a good-hearted man draws the people towards him by a friendly and accommodating demeanor. Thus also does God allure men and bring them mildly near himself, so that they remain with him willingly and joyfully.

Who can doubt that Pascal and Calvin and Luther are now rejoicing together over that sovereign efficacious grace which sweetly drew them to the Father, however widely separated they seemed, or thought themselves to be, on earth? And must there not have been a broad difference between Port Royal and Rome, when such propositions as

* The Provincial Letters, xviii. M'Crie's Transl.

the following from the Jansenist, Quesnel, were condemned as heretical by the pope?

When God does not soften the heart by the unction of his grace, exhortations and external graces serve only to harden it the more. When God accompanies his command and his external word with the unction of his Spirit, and the internal power of his grace, it then works in the heart that obedience which it requires. The grace of Christ is the efficient source of all good actions, and is absolutely necessary to the performance of every good deed. Without grace, we can love nothing, except to our ruin.

And, as may be inferred from these, their views of grace, the Jansenists labored earnestly to introduce a spiritual in place of a sacramental religion, or of a reliance on rites and forms, on the outward operations of the priesthood, or anything short of the merits and grace of Jesus Christ, and the inward work of the Holy Spirit to enlighten, convert, and sanctify. They sent men to the Word of God, to the closet, to Christ. They taught that "deep sorrow for sin, arising from a genuine love to God, was indispensably necessary to a truly evangelical repentance," thus opposing the Jesuit doctrine that the *love of God* in repentance is superfluous. And yet with strange inconsistency they held (in common, however, with Augustine and many great Protestant names), the monstrous dogma of baptismal regeneration. Indeed, in tracing the history of Jansenism, we are perpetually stumbling upon such inconsistencies.

This fact is strikingly brought out in the following extract from the 'Thoughts' of Pascal, in which his Scriptural views of spiritual religion are seen in unnatural union with the unscriptural practices of his church; and it is interesting and yet painful to mark the struggles of his Christ-loving heart to reconcile the two:

In the infancy of the Christian Church, we see no Christians but those who were thoroughly instructed in all matters necessary to salvation; but in these days we see on every side an ignorance so gross that it agonizes all those who have a tender regard for the interests of the Church. Formerly, it was necessary to come out from the world, in order to be received into the Church; whilst in these days, we enter the Church almost at the same time that we enter the world. Hence it arises, that whilst then Christians were all well instructed, now there are many in a fearful state of ignorance; then, those who had been initiated into Christianity by baptism, and who had renounced the vices of the world, to embrace the piety of the Church, rarely declined again to the world which they had left; whilst now we commonly see the vices of the world in the hearts

of Christians. To induce them to seek instruction, they must be made to understand the difference of the customs which have obtained in the Church at different times. In the newly formed Christian Church, the catechumens, that is, those who offered for baptism, were instructed before the rite was conferred; and they were not admitted to it till after full instruction in the mysteries of religion; till after penitence for their former life; till after a great measure of knowledge of the grandeur and excellence of the profession of the Christian faith and obedience, on which they desire to enter forever; till after some eminent mark of real conversion of heart, and an extreme desire for baptism. These facts being made known to the whole Church, they then conferred upon them the sacrament of incorporation or initiation, by which they became members of the Church. But now, since baptism has been, for many very important reasons, permitted to infants before the dawn of reason, we find, through the negligence of parents, that nominal Christians grow old without any knowledge of our religion.

She [the Church] cannot see without bitter lamentation, this abuse of her richest blessings; and that the course which she has adopted for her children's safety, becomes the almost certain occasion of their ruin; for her spirit is not changed, though the primitive custom is.

The same spiritual aims appear also in the rigid asceticism of the Port Royalists, and their directors carefully warned them against that spiritual pride which might grow out of these acts and austerities. They especially aimed after humility, a deadness to the world, and a spirit of elevated devotion, to which also, in many instances, we cannot doubt they attained. Indeed, in that part of religion which may be denominated *devotion*, we may derive most important lessons from these, in many points, misguided Christians. The methods of their devotion, the ascetic character of their piety, are often extremely censurable, and yet underneath these beat the warm heart of Christian love. So much the truth constrains us to say. Their writings often present valuable suggestions upon self-denial. The Mere Angelique "thought it savored of pride, to be attempting great austerities." She often said, "that Christian perfection in outward conduct consists, not in extraordinary things, but in doing common things extraordinarily well." A letter of consolation from St. Marthe, a director of Port Royal to the abbess, contains a truly scriptural sentiment:

What must we do to hate our own life, and to take up our cross, as the gospel commands; and without doing which we cannot be Christ's disciples? Must we flee into eremitic seclusion? Must we undertake ascetic austerities? Rather let us submit with heartfelt bowedness to the will of God manifested in his providence; from the inmost soul believing that God

knows that which is best for us; and from our inmost spirit cheerfully and gladly submitting to and bearing whatever cross is brought upon us.

Such truly Christian sentiments as these would seem to owe their freedom from the monastic taint, in a considerable measure, to the influence of persecution, which sent the disciples of this school more immediately to Christ, and made them feel that his Spirit only was life. For their asceticism often strikes us painfully. It was an unauthorized compliance with the customs of the Romish church, and a manifest departure from the gospel method of sanctification. It was a continual struggle not merely with sin, but against nature, against the divine constitution of the world and society, against some of the noblest and sweetest impulses and affections, against some of the most important means of self-discipline, and some of the most efficient means of usefulness. How can we justify Singlin, one of the confessors of Port Royal, in advising his disciples to renounce and despise the gifts of genius, lest they should foster vanity? A letter of the Mere Agnes to Jacqueline Pascal, a nun of Port Royal, gives *his* opinion about her cultivating and using her talent for writing: "It is better for you to hide your talents of that nature, instead of making them known. God will not require an account of them, and they must be buried, for the lot of woman is humility and silence. You ought to hate your genius, and all the other traits in your character which perhaps cause the world to retain you." And henceforth this noble girl, this gifted daughter of genius, whose talents, like her brother's, might have wrought so much in her Master's cause, sought for self-annihilation—a task, happily, impossible, as her splendid letter, already referred to, abundantly proves.

Another singular instance of this species of self-crucifixion was the confessor Singlin's forbidding Le Maitre, the eloquent advocate, to correct for the press a volume of his speeches. It must go forth to the world with all its imperfections, to mortify the author's pride!

We ought to be grateful that the light of Pascal's genius was not quenched by that "exaggerated devotion" which led him, at one time, to "consider a broom a superfluous piece of furniture," and to disregard even personal cleanli-

ness (for which, however, his sister rebuked him), thereby to mortify that delicacy and refinement of taste, and that love of neatness and beauty which were so natural to him, but which he feared might ensnare him; to wear next his skin a girdle of iron with sharp points, which, struck by his elbow, should recall his mind to religious subjects, when he caught it wandering; to declare "disease to be the natural state of Christians;" and to submit to other extravagant austerities.

We cannot refrain from quoting, in this connexion, the admirable remarks of Vinet:

No other band of Christians [than the Jansenists] has more loudly professed, or more sincerely practised, the voluntary and deliberate yielding of the creature's will to that of the Creator. No other has felt a deeper repentance and horror of sin. It seems, in these pious and vigorous minds, as if there was a struggle between love of God and hatred of self, and though we cannot without injustice say that the latter prevailed over the former, yet we may reasonably conclude that the latter, self-aborrence, is the peculiar tone of Jansenist piety. It would appear that, according to their idea, God was not sufficiently avenged, and that the Christian, though hopeless of completing that vengeance, (mark this point), was yet bound to carry it on, and to attempt its consummation. If life was in itself a punishment, they must try to aggravate it, and if not, they must make it become such. The apostolic maxim, "Use the world as not abusing it," will not satisfy the members of this school, for their device is, "Use it not at all." St. Paul, while duly honoring Christian celibacy, had pronounced marriage honorable in all, but Pascal declares it "the most perilous and the lowest of Christian stations," and, on this ground alone, dissuades one of his nieces from marrying. His brother-in-law, M. Perier, always wore a girdle lined with iron points, but his humility always kept this fact a secret. He used also to have a plank in his bed, which he always made himself in order to prevent its discovery. Mental enjoyment was looked upon by some of these Christians as a different kind of sensuality or luxury, and they rigorously declined it, as a superfluity, only permissible to persons who had no taste for it. To sum up all in a word, they had no tie to earth nor to its inhabitants, save charity. This one cable fastens them to its shore, but all the rest are cut.*

He adds, in justice to their excellences, that the piety of Jansenism

Was altogether spiritual, actual, and sincere. It had no toleration for sublime phantasies; the virtues it practised were useful and salutary; it aimed at justice and charity in its relations with mankind; and its morality is no exact, ingenious mechanism, but a living, pliant reality. In a word, these extraordinary beings were in their daily life, devoted friends to God and their neighbor.

After what we have presented of their Scriptural views of

* Jacqueline Pascal, p. p. 251, 254.

the glory and grace of Christ, it is sad to meet with an undue veneration for Mary. It by no means stands out as prominently among them as among other Catholic Orders, especially the Jesuits, and we have been struck with the absence of this dogma from the letters written to the nuns by their confessors, in the season of persecution. We are glad also to hear from the dying Angelique such language as the following:

St. Elizabeth said, in her day, with fervent gratitude, "Whence is it to me that the Mother of my Lord should visit me?" How much more gratitude should we feel, since our Lord himself visits us.

From this we turn with pain to a passage in one of Jacqueline Pascal's letters to her sister:

You must not fail to plead earnestly in your devotions, that our Lord and his *Mother* may obtain for me, by the merits of his death, that grace I so greatly need.

And especially, in her Regulations for Children, to such language as this:

We recommend the children to take the *Virgin Mary* as their Mother, and mediatrix, in their various troubles and wants. They are taught that she must be their model of prayer, meekness, silence, modesty, industry, and, in short, in every action. They are exhorted to keep her solemn festivals, to repeat her *chapelet* often, and her litanies every day.

And so they are exhorted to implore the protection of the saints, and their intercession for the graces they need.

We are glad to quote here a note of Dr. M'Crie to the ninth Provincial Letter:

The Jesuits raised a great outcry against Pascal for having, in this letter, as they alleged, turned the worship of the Virgin into ridicule. Nicole seriously undertakes his defence, and draws several distinctions between true and false devotion to the Virgin. The Mariolatry, or Mary-worship, of Pascal and the Port Royalists, was certainly a very different sort of thing from that practised in the Church of Rome; but it is sad to see the straits to which these sincere devotees were reduced, in their attempts to reconcile this practice with the honor due to God and his Son.

The Jansenists considered themselves believers in *transubstantiation*, and certainly they never denied or rejected this "mystery." But it has been truly remarked, that their creed was practically at variance with it. And here again we have to wonder at their inconsistency, and at the false

position in which their outward communion with the Romish Church placed them.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact views which the Jansenists held of *the Church and the Pope*. Their *practice* we regard as often savoring of Protestantism (of which the Jesuits also accused them), especially when persecution proved their conscientious, unconquerable regard for the vital principles of the Gospel. And yet they wished to be regarded as faithful Romanists. It is with pain that we quote from the 'Provincial Letters,' the following sentiment of the devout, the large-hearted Pascal, in reply to an attack of the Jesuits :

Thanks be to God, I have no attachment to any Society whatever but to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, in which I wish to live and to die, in communion with the Pope, its supreme head, and out of which I am persuaded there is no salvation.—(Letter xvii.)

Ah, how little did the author of those dreadful words realize that the fellowship in doctrine and Christian experience between himself and the out-lawed, unchurched Protestants, was far greater than that between himself and the Church outside of which he declared salvation impossible. He did not know himself, nor those whom he denounced as heretics. Surely this language belies the true, deep feelings of his Christian heart. It would seem that Pascal and his fellow Jansenists had before their minds an ideal Church, the embodiment of truth and piety, having the Spirit of Christ, and constituting his "body," and therefore the sanctuary of all the righteous, the ark of safety, and invested with supreme authority ; and that, by a strange hallucination, they thought this beautiful ideal should bear the historical name of Roman, as if this corporation were its realization or representative. They gave reverence to the creation of their own minds, while they deemed themselves rendering homage to Rome. Were they startled by facts and events in the movements of the historical Church, which stared them in the face as contrary to truth and right?—instead of abjuring that Church, they sought relief by turning their gaze upon a picture of primitive purity and descanting upon *its* loveliness, as if there were an actual and logical connection

between the two. Pascal (in his fourteenth letter) thus discourses of the Church :

The chaste spouse of the Son of God, who, in imitation of her heavenly husband, can shed her own blood for others, but never the blood of others for herself, entertains a horror at the crime of murder altogether singular, and proportioned to the peculiar illumination which God has vouchsafed to bestow upon her. She views man, not simply as man, but as the image of the God whom she adores. She feels for every one of the race a holy respect, which imparts to him, in her eyes, a venerable character, as redeemed by an infinite price, to be made the temple of the living God. . . . For whether he be a believer or an unbeliever, she uniformly looks upon him, if not as one, at least as capable of becoming one, of her own children.

And this of the Roman Catholic Church! which, as M'Crie remarks, was at this very time murdering the Piedmontese, and which, at an earlier date, was guilty of the Bartholomew massacre.

In regard to the question which divides the Romish Church, if we may so speak, into Catholic and Popish—where resides infallibility? In the whole body of the Church, or in the Pope? The Jansenists no doubt adopted the Gallican rather than the ultramontane and Jesuit view. When they refused their signatures to the Formulary, and thus disregarded a papal injunction, they did so in the belief that the voice of the general Church would have sustained them. And yet, they professed, in this refusal, to offer no indignity to the Pope's authority, because his infallibility, they said, extended only to matters of faith and doctrine, and not to those of fact, where he might err. Thus they did not formally deny the Pope's competency to determine the orthodoxy of the doctrines of Jansenism, professing here submission to his dictum; and yet we cannot peruse their writings, especially their letters, during the period of persecution, without feeling that, in fact, their attachment to the doctrines of grace could not be broken by papal thunder. They thought themselves good papists, but we rejoice to think they were better Christians. They loved the truth more than they revered the Pope. Such is our opinion.

Thus speaks a letter to the Port Royalist nuns by M. de St. Marthe, one of their confessors, with reference to the papal injunction, originating with the Jesuits, to sign a declaration that certain doctrines held by them and pronounced

heretical were really contained in the 'Augustinus' of Jansenius. The nuns refusing to sign contrary to their conscience, and in consequence incurring persecution, he says:

My sisters, do not fear all the threats which may be made concerning briefs and bulls, or all the mandates you may receive, whether by the authority of the Pope, or that of his Grace the Archbishop (of Paris). St. Paul says, "The end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." If, then, you have reason to believe this commandment to be contrary to charity, and if you recognize that it does not lead to purity of heart, and that it does not accord with a good conscience, and that it does not spring from a faith unfeigned; how should you imagine you ought to conform to it? . . . And with the knowledge and light it has pleased God to afford you, whether briefs are handed you, or bulls fulminated against you, do not be astonished, for the apostle predicted all these things should happen.

It is gratifying to add to the quotation we have given from Pascal himself, proof of his "unconscious Protestantism." When the formulary authorized by the Pope, condemning certain propositions, professing to have been derived from Jansenius' work, was presented to the Jansenists for their signature, and some were for affixing their names, with a written reservation that such subscription should not be understood as censuring the doctrine of grace, Pascal earnestly opposed such a course as virtually condemning those doctrines which Christ had taught, and which St. Augustine had defended; and although "it grieved him," he said, "to find himself in a strait between God and the Pope, he could not sanction the sacrifice of truth to expediency."* And when he saw a majority voting for the signature, even though with a reservation,

"Pascal," to use the words of his niece, "who loved truth more than all things else, and who, in spite of his weakness, had spoken with great earnestness in order to impress his own convictions upon the others, was so overcome with grief, that he became suddenly faint, and lost both voice and consciousness. When Pascal had quite recovered his senses, Madame Perier (his sister) asked him what had occasioned the swoon? He replied, 'When I beheld so many persons to whom I believe that God has made known his truth, and who ought to be its defenders, thus giving way, I confess to you such a feeling of distress came over me, that I could not bear it, nor keep myself from fainting.'"

We gladly quote also the following from his 'Thoughts,' written after the Papal condemnation of the 'Provincial Letters':

* Jacqueline Pascal, p. 211.

I feared that I might have written erroneously, when I saw myself condemned; but the example of so many pious witnesses made me think differently. It is no longer allowable to write truth. The Inquisition is entirely corrupt or ignorant. It is better to obey God than man. I fear nothing. I hope for nothing. If my letters are condemned at Rome, that which I condemn in them is condemned in heaven. The Inquisition and the Society of Jesuits are the two scourges of the truth.

Jansenius himself had declared in his 'Augustinus' that he should be inclined to prefer the judgment of that Father to the decision of the Pope, on the ground that frequently his Holiness decided with a view to the promotion of peace, while Augustine's decisions were always based on truth—a proposition not very respectful to the Pope.*

Arnauld, in one of his works, even declared that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, should be regarded as of equal rank, and as founders of the Roman Catholic Church.

Among the Memoirs of Port Royal is found a "character," in the form of an epitaph, of the last prioress, Mère Claude Louise, which contains the following passage:

Interdicted the sacraments by pastors whom a mercenary cupidity had alone led into error, the Good Shepherd himself, the Prince and Bishop of our souls, the *only* immortal and *infallible Pontiff* [Solo immortalis et infallibilis Pontifice], more than compensated her, by nourishing her with an invisible food that the world knows not of.†

And when the Bishop, after a long but vain exhortation to the same lady, just before her death, to submit to the Church and sign the formulary, asked her, "But who will present you to God? It will not be the Church, which you refuse to obey; nor yet will it be myself, who am the pastor to the sheep within her fold. What will you do when you have to appear before God, bearing the weight of your sins alone?"—the dying nun replied, "Having made peace through the blood of his cross, my Saviour hath reconciled all things unto himself in the body of his flesh, through death, to present us holy and unblamable and unreprouvable in his sight; if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel."‡

Most worthy also of mention is the reply of one of the captive nuns, to the bishop who sought to obtain her signature, by threats to deprive her soul of the sacraments, and to cast out her body upon a dunghill, in case of refusal:

Well, I do not think your lordship will be able to discover any place to cast my body where our Saviour will not be able to find it, and raise it up at the last day; and if in the mean time, my soul be happy in heaven, it is of very little importance where my body is cast. But if at the awful

* Bib. Repos. 3d Ser., III., 695.

† Memoirs, II., p. 67.

‡ Memoirs, II., p. 56.

hour of death, I should be unjustly deprived of those assistances which the Church grants to all her children, by means of priests, who should be the servants of God, then God himself will, by his grace, immediately and abundantly supply their instrumentality. His divine power is no more to be circumscribed by the will, than his love by the want of charity in man.^c

This language, and much more that might be quoted to the same effect, would show a radical disagreement on the part of the Jansenists with the papistic theory of salvation in the Church, and with that lately promulgated by Dr. Schaff, viz. : that separation from the visible church is also separation from Christ. We see these excommunicated disciples, cut off from the external church and its helps to salvation, trusting solely in the Redeemer, and regarding a living union to him alone as insuring eternal life. This is the purest type of Protestantism, this making the personal union of a soul to Christ of supreme importance. A greater remove from Popery is hardly possible. In this respect, the Jansenists were more Protestant than are some so-called Protestants.

In connection with the views of the Church above presented, we add the testimony of one of the Confessors of Port Royal, (M. de St. Marthe,) against the use of *force* in matters of religion :

The Apostles never resorted to force or to any worldly incitement either of pleasure or pain, to compel the will. They never persecuted or flattered the world, to make it renounce its errors ; but they suffered persecution from the world from those errors. . . . Beware then of the doctrines of those whose practice is so wholly opposed to that of the Lord

* Memoirs, &c., Vol. II. As a further illustration of the manner in which those who sympathized with the Jansenists allowed themselves to think and speak of the Pope, the following anecdote is given :

"The Abbé Gagliagni, famous for his wit and learning, and more than suspected of heresy, was at one time commissioned by Benedict XIV., who was much attached to him, to make for him a collection of the fossil productions of Vesuvius. The collection was sent to the Pope, with a note : ' Beatissime Pater, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant' — (Holy Father, command that these stones be made bread ;) which procured him a handsome pension with the following reply from his Holiness : ' The Pope is rejoiced that the Abbé Gagliagni seems at length convinced that to the successors of St. Peter belongs the exclusive prerogative of seizing the true spirit of Scripture. His Holiness never gave any explanation with greater pleasure, since he is fully convinced that the interpretation herewith sent will perfectly satisfy the Abbé Gagliagni's remaining doubts as to his infallibility.' When the Bishop of Alêt heard this anecdote, he said gravely, ' I could be well satisfied if we had a Pontiff of less wit, and more reverence for God's revealed Word.' " — (Memoirs of Port Royal, II.)

whom they profess to serve. Such practices are those the world was wont to use against the Church, not those of the Church against the world.

While the Jesuits maintained the absolute supremacy of the Church over the State, and the duty of the latter to inflict the temporal penalties imposed by the former upon spiritual offenders; the Jansenists preached against the temporal power of all ecclesiastics, and denied that the successors of St. Peter had any right to rule a temporal sovereign, or command his aid to execute their anathemas. (See Lady Morgan's *Italy*, II. 188.) Thus Port Royal became the defender of liberty.*

We must now briefly sketch the persecutions which befell the Jansenists, and which ended in the final extinction of the Port Royal Society. These persecutions were fomented chiefly by the Jesuits; for many reasons their bitter enemies, but especially because of the evangelical doctrines and spiritual religion of the Jansenists, and the vigorous assaults made by them upon their own lax principles and practices. They were jealous also of the increasing influence of the Port Royal Society, as for instance, in the confessional. They looked with malicious eyes upon the spreading celebrity of the literary and religious works which issued from the recluses of Les Granges. They saw with distress the rivalling and supplanting of their own far-famed schools, the means of so powerful an influence, by the new institutions of Port Royal, and resolved upon persecution; if possible, upon extermination; and they prosecuted their plans with atrocious perseverance and melancholy success.

* It is due to truth to record the following statement from Weiss' '*History of the French Protestant Refugees* :'

"The Jansenists themselves departed from the rigidity of their principles to approve the conduct of Louis XIV., [in revoking the Edict of Nantes.] After having long maintained in their writings that God receives no other homage than our love; that an enterprise originating in profanation would founder under the curse of heaven; and that their hair stood on end at the idea of even involuntary communion with the Calvinists, of a sudden they changed their tone, and declared by the organ of the great Arnauld, their most illustrious interpreter, that means had been employed a little too strong, but by no means unjust."—Vol. I., p. 125.

Into such shameful inconsistencies was their anomalous position in the Romish Church ever leading them. But the whole body should not be implicated in the above charge.

Before this, they had sought to suppress the 'Augustinus' of Jansen, and had caused his friend and interpreter, St. Cyran, to be thrown into a dungeon.

Meanwhile the Society of Port Royal was thoroughly imbued with the principles of Jansenism, chiefly through the influence of St. Cyran, and was of course a chosen mark for the envenomed arrows of the Jesuits.

Against five propositions professed to have been drawn from the 'Augustinus' by a Jesuit Father, a sentence was procured from the Pope, Innocent X. Most of the bishops of the Gallican Church joined in the proscription. It was also decreed that a declaration, to the effect that these five propositions were heretical, should be signed by all ecclesiastics, and all who belonged to religious houses, or were engaged in the education of children—a pointed attack upon the Jansenists.

Contrary to the expectations and hopes of the Jesuits, the Jansenists subscribed their names, in acknowledgment of the papal right to judge of doctrines, but each adding a denial of these propositions being in the work of Jansenius.

The disappointed Jesuits next obtained an order from the government to destroy the schools under the direction of the Recluses, which was effected; and also for the dismissal of every scholar, postulant, and novice from both the houses of Port Royal. This plot, just on the eve of its being executed, was arrested for a time by what was considered an extraordinary interposition of Providence, in the shape of a miraculous cure—so the Jansenists regarded it. Whether the cure (of a pupil in the convent) was natural or supernatural, it served to awe the government into a retraction of its order for the destruction of Port Royal. The recluses returned, and the fame and influence of the society were greater than ever. This was in 1656.

The Jesuits were not, however, to be long delayed. Thirsting for their prey, they procured the fulmination of a bull from Alexander VII., in November of the same year, against the Jansenists, in which it was declared that the "five propositions" were not only heretical, but were really contained in the proscribed book; and, in accordance with the bull, a

second formulary was drawn up, in 1660, to be signed by all ecclesiastics and religious communities in France, in the following terms: "I condemn from my inmost soul, and by word of mouth, the doctrine of the five propositions which are contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius—a doctrine which is not that of Augustine, whose sentiments Jansenius has misinterpreted."

But this time the Jansenists refused their signatures. They would acknowledge the papal right to decide upon matters of *faith*, but not upon matters of *fact*. The Pope, they said (see also Pascal's seventeenth letter), could determine whether certain doctrines were true or not, but he might be mistaken as to the fact of such doctrines being in the work of Jansenius. The nuns, particularly, would not affirm that these doctrines were contained in a Latin book which they could not read.

All along the Jansenists had been subjected to perpetual annoyances, but now persecution came in earnest. The dungeons of the Bastille were crowded with "Recluses," and the two houses of Port Royal were ordered to send away their scholars and novices.

The great object of all this was to reduce the nuns to obedience, and compel their signatures to the formulary. As a still more effectual measure, the Archbishop of Paris, attended by constables and soldiers, visited the convent in the city, and, after an insolent address, carried off eighteen nuns by force, the superiors among them, and imprisoned them in different convents, where they suffered harsh treatment for many months; the remainder being put under the espionage of nuns brought from another convent, and tormented by Jesuits who argued with them, and denounced excommunication, if they did not put their names to the formulary. But, out of one hundred nuns, only six submitted.

Ten months of cruel captivity had now passed away, when the exiles were brought back to Port Royal des Champs. Thirty-six nuns of this house, and thirteen from that of Paris, were reunited to their former companions. But they were still treated as prisoners, forbidden the sacraments, deprived of needful exercise in the open air, and denounced as heretics. During this persecution of several years, many

died from excessive cruelty. The "Recluses," meanwhile, were imprisoned, or hunted from place to place.

But, notwithstanding all this, Jansenism was gaining favor with many, and extending its influence; so that some of the French bishops espoused the cause of the persecuted Port Royalists. The high ground assumed by the Jesuits, of the Pope's infallibility, had already awakened feelings of resistance in many minds, and a demand for more lenient measures and a wider liberty. The Port Royalists had also now gained a powerful friend in a near relative of the king, the Duchess de Longueville, who had renounced her worldly ambition and become a humble Jansenist. Clement IX., a man of more pacific character than his predecessor, being now Pope, the duchess addressed to him an eloquent letter, in behalf of the suffering Port Royalists. After eighteen months of earnest effort, in conjunction with other influential friends, she had the joy to see the Pope enter upon measures of pacification. He still condemned the five propositions (to save his infallibility), but abstained from ascribing them to Jansenius; while the Jansenists conceded a full submission to his authority upon matters of *faith*, and agreed to preserve a respectful silence upon questions of *fact*. This was in 1668.

Thus the storm was stayed, the prison doors were opened, the "Recluses" returned to Port Royal, and a general feeling of joy was experienced throughout the nation. Port Royal now enjoyed eleven years of unexampled prosperity. Friends multiplied, munificent grants of money for benevolent purposes were made to the community, and its fame widely extended.

But the death of their friend, the duchess, in 1679, renewed the slumbering hostility of its enemies. The "Recluses" were again driven from Port Royal, most of them to die in exile and poverty; the nuns were forbidden to receive scholars or novices, and Port Royal de Paris and half their revenues were taken from them. At length came the terrible crisis. In 1711, the monastery, after a century of spiritual illumination, was totally demolished by order of the king; its burial-place was rifled of its bodies, in a most shameless manner, and the mangled forms thrown promiscuously into a pit; and

the walls of the church were blown up. Thus Port Royal perished from off the face of the earth.

The nuns, meanwhile, who had survived these terrible persecutions, lingered out their lives in solitary confinement in different convents, denied the sacraments, deprived often of the common necessities of life, and vexed by Jesuit priests who hovered round them in the hope of terrifying them into submission. But they bore every indignity and cruelty with exemplary patience, resolving never to deny the truth. Many of them, aged and infirm, did not long survive their exile, and died, praying for their enemies, and rejoicing to be counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake.*

Many of the surviving Jansenists emigrated to Holland. Father Quesnel died in Amsterdam, in 1719, and with him Jansenism expired as a matter of special interest. Its subsequent history is one of comparative degeneracy, its friends becoming infected with fanaticism, and making pretensions to miraculous cures, as at the tomb of the famous Abbé de Paris, of which Hume makes use in his 'Essay on Miracles.' Even now there exists, in Holland, a small remnant of Jansenists, who still insist on their membership in the Roman Catholic Church, though lying under the papal ban as heretics and schismatics.

There are many practical reflections which spring up in the mind, on a perusal of the history of Jansenism. Not without design did God permit such a history to transpire, and it becomes us to study these lessons of his providence. In the remarkable revival of spiritual religion exhibited in the Port Royal Society we cannot fail to see the Divine hand.

Besides His purpose of calling many according to the "election of grace," may we not discover a design to *raise up a barrier against the inroads of Jesuitism?* Like Pietism, amid the formalism of the Lutheran, and Methodism, amid that of the Episcopal church, so Jansenism was an uprising of spiritual Christianity in the midst of a more terrible perversion of the gospel. Jesuitism was then in the ascendant, swaying the councils of Europe, controlling the papal influence, and

* Memoirs of Port Royal.

threatening the overthrow of all morality, religion and liberty. The Reformation had been checked in France and in other papal countries, chiefly through the zeal of the followers of Ignatius; but, behold, from a quarter least expected, the bosom of their own church, arises a foe to deal mighty blows, and humble the right arm of the Man of Sin. Would that the Jansenists had fully comprehended their mission! But as it was, they performed a great work, for which they should be held in grateful remembrance. They imposed a powerful check upon the infamous Society of Loyola, exposing its atrocious principles, and calling down upon it the scorn and derision of the world. They broke its power; they crippled its energies. Had they dared to go still further, and trace the corruption of the Jesuit Society up to the essential doctrines of Romanism itself; had they dared to say that the very constitutions of the Society of Ignatius, as sanctified by papal authority, were the fountain whence had issued, by a necessary development, the tremendous evils and errors which they combated; had they dared to stand only upon the Bible, then had they dealt a blow from which Jesuitism had never revived. But for this they had not the courage. Their anomalous position was a great restraint, and they only half performed the work which was given them to do. They were themselves blinded, cramped, crippled. They could do valiantly against the Jesuit fathers, but they could not grapple with Loyola himself. And hence the society survived their attacks.

Again, we are taught a lesson of *Christian charity*. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and so the divine Spirit breathes with quickening power wheresoever it pleaseth Him. We, with our narrow views, would confine his working within certain sharply defined limits, but divine Mercy is free infinitely beyond our thoughts of it, and so the heavenly Dove scatters the dews of grace from his outspread wings over spots where we had least expected his presence. At first we are inclined to stand in doubt, but doubt gives way to praise, when with unprejudiced mind we see the manifest fruits of the Spirit. And thus we cannot for a moment doubt that within the pale of the nominal Catholic church have been

trained up many sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty. The Jansenists were a people eminently devout. They not only formed, in the language of Vinet, the "Alpine heights of Catholicism," but not a few of them furnished examples of piety seldom if ever surpassed among uninspired men. Protestantism need not fear this acknowledgment, for piety has been nourished within the Catholic church by the essential truths which they hold in common, and in spite of the grievous errors which popery has added thereto, and which ruin so many souls. Hannah More was accustomed to read "a portion of Nicole, or some other good Jansenist, almost every day." Wesley spoke of the Port Royalists in high commendation. Haweis, of the Lady Huntington school of divines, has left in his "Church History" the following testimony to their worth:—

When I read Jansenius, or his disciples Pascal or Quesnel, I bow before such distinguished excellencies and confess them my brethren. Their principles are pure and evangelical, their morals formed upon the apostles and prophets, and their zeal to amend and convert blest with eminent success. "Leighton, in one age," says Dr. Williams (*Miscellanies*), "and Zinzendorf, in another, were supposed to have enkindled their piety, and formed in part their religious character, amidst the Jansenist Catholics of France, with whom each had mingled."

Much of our current Protestantism might, we think, learn from them, Catholics though they were, a lesson of genuine humility, of self-denying devotion to Christ, of separation from the world, of prayerfulness, of sweet Christian charity, of patience under injuries, of veneration for the Bible, and zeal in the propagation and defence of its truths. Well for us, in these days of outward bustle, could we catch something of their sweet devotional spirit, love of meditation, and earnestness in the cultivation of heart religion. Monastic piety must, indeed, have its serious defects; must want some of the features of a healthy and robust character; but what, on the other hand, shall we say of a religion which draws not its life from intimate daily communion with Christ and the Word of Truth; and is not this the true picture of very much of our current piety? Many full draughts from the Port Royal fountain might revive our drooping Christianity. Thus much

let us say in charity, and let us learn to welcome all signs of spiritual life wheresoever they appear."*

But, in the *third* place, our review of Jansenism, while it reveals much genuine piety as having existed within the Romish Church, far more, we fear, than at present when Jesuitism has been indorsed anew, yet *proves the essential corruption of Romanism*. Jansenism was not the legitimate fruit of popery. It grew up in spite of it, and when its true nature as essentially anti-papistic was discovered, it was disowned, and violently dissevered from the stock into which it had been unnaturally grafted. Rome has always persisted in saying that Jansenism is not Catholicism. We take her at her word, and thereby prove her own contrariety with Christianity. Never did Rome manifest a more vengeful spirit against the Protestant Reformation than against those who, in her own bosom, have loved and proclaimed the truth as it is in Jesus. In the melancholy history of Port Royal, we learn the natural antagonism of Rome to the doctrines of grace, to the word of God, to spiritual religion, to religious liberty.† She can harbor and honor conforming infidelity and obsequious profligacy, and atheism itself, but true piety is cast forth.

In the *fourth* place, we learn *the hopelessness of any essential improvement of Romanism*. It is radically, irremediably corrupt, past all cure. And, if we rightly understand prophecy and providence, we believe it is not God's design to reform

* Hannah More, writing to one of her sisters, says: "He [Dr. Johnson] reproved me with pretended sharpness, for reading 'Les Pensees de Pascal,' or any of the Port Royal authors, alleging, that as a good Protestant, I ought to abstain from books written by Catholics. I was beginning to stand upon my defence, when he took me with both hands, and with a tear running down his cheek, 'Child,' said he, with the most affecting earnestness, 'I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they may be written.'"

† The following incident which exhibits the king's [Louis XIV.] prejudices against the Jansenists, also illustrates the general feeling of the Romish Church towards them, and its disregard of religious sincerity if there be but outward conformity. When a certain gentleman was proposed to Louis as a proper travelling companion to the Dauphin, the king, mistaking him for another person, objected to him as a Jansenist: "Sire," said his informant, "he is so far from holding grace and election, that he doubts if there be even a God." "O," returned the king, "that is another affair; I really thought he had been a Jansenist; I have not the least objection."—Memoirs of Port Royal; Tour to Alét.

it into a spiritual church, but to let it develop its inherent elements of ruin, to let it go on from bad to worse, until divine vengeance consume it. Not that many individuals may not, meanwhile, grope their way amid its gloom to heaven; not that we may not hope for numerous conversions from its ranks; but as a body it is doomed to destruction. Its tendency has ever been downward, and its present aspects promise nothing favorable.

At various periods of her history, attempts at reform have been made, but never successfully. Luther at first thought only of amending the church. He was driven into a separation from it by finding it incurably wicked. It did not wish for improvement. And hence he did what alone an honest man under his circumstances could do—he abandoned it.

The Jansenists attempted another plan. They made an honest and earnest effort to purify the Romish Church. They saw and deplored and exposed many of its corruptions; they founded convents and schools; they preached; they wrote books; they translated and circulated the Scriptures; they set an example of eminent devotion and charity, and moreover, boldly unmasked wickedness in places high and mighty, sparing no pains, shrinking from no perils, in what they deemed the cause of truth. And at one time, the Gallican Church seemed almost ready to advance many steps towards apostolic purity. A brighter day seemed ready to dawn. But no. These devoted men and women were not fighting for the truth according to the plan of Christ. Their nominal union with Rome was a sanction of her errors. Instead of planting themselves on the Word of God alone, and coming out from Rome, shaking off the dust of their feet as a witness against her sorceries and in despair of her recovery, they hesitated, feared, and attempted a vain compromise. They appealed to *Augustine*, when they should have appealed only to the Bible.

And thence we derive the more general lesson, not to expend our strength in efforts to reform and revivify old and corrupt churches, like the Armenian, Greek, and others, by endeavoring to infuse into them spiritual life, and to engraft

evangelical sentiments and feelings on the dead stock of formalism; but rather to plant alongside them true churches of Christ after the apostolical pattern, and to gather into them the Lord's chosen. And let those who, within the pale of the Papal or other apostate churches, whether in our own or foreign lands, have become spiritually enlightened and love the word of God, and trust in the grace of Christ, come out from such corrupt body, lest they become partakers of its plagues. Thus only can their Christian influence be free, untrammelled and powerful.

ARTICLE. II.—PROGRESS OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES.*

FREEDOM of Conscience, of which we have spoken, is but a means of Religion, not an end. And yet, had Baptists nothing more to show as distinctive of their body, the success of this single principle might have fulfilled their Providential mission. It might have been said, "You have destroyed 'soul tyranny,' but you have not built up Truth and Holiness." Happily the Baptists were prepared to meet this imputation by pointing to the effects of their *second* distinctive principle—the precise and positive complement of the first—*A Converted Church Membership*.

Prof. Curtis traces with a firm yet discriminating hand the progress of opinion on this point within the last hundred years, both at home and abroad. He proves that general as its reception now is among most denominations in the United States, it was, with but rare and inconsistent exceptions, held only by the Baptists a century ago. The good influence of Whitfield, the two Tennents, and Edwards, in promoting a change for the better, is duly recognized and honored, as is also that of the Methodists in later years. Thus this great Baptist principle—the most vital of their entire organization—has triumphed, and has in fact, if not in creed, been incorporated by other communions. Our author says:

* A review of Prof. Curtis' work on the Progress of Baptist Principles for the last hundred years. Concluded from last No.

So wide spread, indeed, is the conviction that unconverted persons should not be communicants, that very few of them would think it right to partake, if invited. Denominations seem to be unpopular in proportion as they favor an unconverted membership. All of them, including Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and even Episcopalians, are shown by the last census to embrace not above a sixth of the whole church-going population.

The author justly regards this fact as constituting the great superiority of American over European Christianity, and cites Dr. Baird as concurring in this view. It has been worth all the prayers, struggles, and sufferings which it has cost to effect what has been accomplished. The principle is spreading also on every side, despite the efforts in other lands, where National Churches exist, to oppose it. It is sapping the basis of every Church Establishment in Europe. It is diffused by evangelical missions in the four quarters of the globe. Sacramentalism and Infant Baptism only feebly resist it in the United States; but these are evidently doomed to fall before it. "Evangelical truth, so far as it prevails, leads the people to become," as Dr. Nevin and Dr. Bushnell both show, "*Baptists in theory*, even where they neglect to become so in practice," and honest men will soon reduce theory to practice. Professor Curtis might have added that a converted *membership* will insure a converted *ministry*—a principle equally sacred and dear to Baptists.

The third principle, conceded to Baptists, is—*Sacraments inoperative without Choice and Faith*. A hundred years ago there were few Pedobaptists probably who did not suppose that baptism, or what was so called, rendered an infant more safe. This opinion is now condemned as superstitious, even in Europe, by such men as Coleridge and Bunsen, the latter of whom distinctly says, "it must be put down forever." Prof. Curtis, while quoting this opinion, expresses a doubt whether it can be put down, so long as infant baptism is retained—a doubt which will be shared by millions. Again, to refuse unconverted persons the Lord's Supper, and yet admit them to the ordinance of baptism, is so palpable an inconsistency, that no theory yet devised by the wit of man can reconcile or conceal it; and as many as have attempted it, from Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, in 1662, to Dr. McClintock, of New York, in 1855, though men of acknow-

ledged ability, have "labored in the fire for very vanity." The one practice must in time destroy the other. In Europe generally this Gordian knot is not untied, but cut, by allowing and inviting, nay, legally compelling, all the baptized to come to the Lord's Supper, and in such churches both sacraments are regarded, at least in theory, as like means of saving grace. Thus the practice of infant baptism, in the opinion of our author, has poisoned every Protestant Confession, Rubric and Catechism in Europe, and to some extent also in this country. But so far as Baptist principles prevail, and modify the opinions of other denominations, this poison is counteracted. We quote the author's illustration :

The blood which goes into the lungs a dark inert mass, poisoned with carbonic acid, comes from them of a bright scarlet, having parted with its poison and absorbed the oxygen of the atmosphere. It is thus vitalized, and made capable of sustaining life. So in the Gospel, the sacraments need to be vitalized by a living Faith, in the experience of each professor; without which they only carry with them poison and death into every ramification of the spiritual system to which they extend.

This principle—that the sacraments have in them no saving power whatever, but depend for all their value and efficacy upon the faith of the recipient—all evangelical denominations now accept, or concede; ample proofs of this are furnished by our author; but he records also his deep conviction that

Until infant baptism be openly abandoned there is a constant tendency to reaction—a danger of relapse. The entering wedge for the recurrence of all that is most fatal in the delusions of Popery is in the crevice, and a few hard blows may at any moment split all other Protestantism to pieces.

These last are weighty words. O! that God would make them to tingle in the ears of all those who look upon Baptist principles as of little moment.

It is not our intention to follow our author thus closely through his entire work, or even this first part of it. We must limit ourselves to a few points, to which we attach special importance, and add a few reflections of our own.

The chapter illustrating the progress of a fourth great Baptist principle, entitled *Believers the only Scriptural Subjects of Baptism*, is one of great importance in a historical point of view. It forms, indeed, a most interesting chapter

in the History of Christian Doctrine. It occupies over fifty pages, and is valuable alike for its clear statement of Baptist views, and its happy selection, not mere collection, of Pedobaptist Concessions to Baptist views, both on the Scriptural and Historical Argument, including the historical rise of infant baptism as an innovation, and its gradual subversion of the original ordinance of Christ; but especially is it valuable for its ample collection of facts and statistics demonstrating beyond all dispute, the rapid and steady decline of infant baptism in Europe and in the United States. One feature which marks this decline of infant baptism is, that it is greatest where the people are the freest, where the Scriptures are most circulated, read, and revered as the only ultimate standard of appeal, and where vital religion is held in the highest esteem. This feature is highly significant. And this decline is apparent, not only in the *positive*, but also in the *relative* increase of the Baptists, as compared with the increase of population, on which it has gained within a century at an average rate of from 100 to 200 per cent., and as compared also with other denominations, whose increase, not excepting the Methodists, is vastly greater from abroad. It appears by the late census, that more than one-fourth of the whole church accommodation in the United States, is in the hands of those who resist infant baptism. But this is not all. Prof. Curtis proves that infant baptism is fast falling into disuse in the several Pedobaptist denominations themselves, especially among the most numerous bodies, as the Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the Presbyterians, both Old School and New. Some of the statistics he presents, taken from a comparison of official documents, reveal a secret sense of the soundness of Baptist principles, we had hardly imagined could so extensively pervade Pedobaptist denominations. We have only space to give the author's final conclusion, referring the reader to the volume itself for the details of the proof:

In one sentence, then, infant baptism is now completely the exception where it used to be the rule. If the Presbyterian returns furnish a fair average, out of twelve infants born, eleven go unbaptized. A hundred years ago the proportions were nearer the reverse.

We would call special attention to this result. At this

rate, infant baptism in this country will disappear before the end of another century. Within the last twenty years special efforts have been made to check this tendency by their ablest preachers and writers. But in vain. The voice that once blasted the barren figtree, has been uttered against infant baptism, and it is withering away. "Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." Let no good man mourn over its fate. Every element of spiritual life and beauty will remain in the Church of Christ, and appear fresher and flourish all the more, when this noxious parasite shall have perished in its own decay.

The last Baptist principle, belonging to the class of the conceded, is very briefly discussed by Professor Curtis. It is—*Immersion always the Baptism of the New Testament*. But ample proofs of its concession by Pedobaptist scholars, of the first order, are crowded into this brief space. The general conclusion, derived from the several points conceded, is thus summed up:

Were each of these admissions but universally acted upon—were baptism delayed until the only proper time of full communion, *i. e.* that of personal faith, and were immersion alone practised, every division might be done away, and all Christians have now, as at first, "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism."

Let those who obstruct this blessed union consider whether by so doing they do not "fight against God."

The second book treats of Controverted Principles; that is, of those Baptist principles which are not conceded by the most enlightened men of other denominations. These are four, and are thus stated:

1. The command to Baptize a command to Immerse.
2. The importance of Believer's Baptism.
3. Infant Baptism injurious, as well as unscriptural.
4. Mixed Communion unwise and injurious.

These are the points still in controversy, and to these should the attention and strength of both parties be directed, if they really desire the victory of truth, and the union of all Christians in the truth "as it is in Jesus."

On the first point, Prof. Curtis has furnished an illustration

so decisive, that it ought, in our judgment, to blow away all the mist and clouds, and clear up the question to every understanding. We wish we had space to insert it here. A happier appeal to common sense, as a final test in a question of practical duty, we do not remember ever to have seen. Let any honest man—and we hold all evangelical Christians to be honest men—if he can, resist it. The argument is essentially philological and critical, yet it is here made precise and plain; it involves a fundamental principle of interpretation which is conceded by all parties in terms, but whose real practical bearings were perhaps never before set in so clear a light. The author has not failed here also to trace the progress of the evidence for the last hundred years. He shows that the mind of the age moves in the line of his argument.

Chapter second, on the importance of Believers' Baptism, if less original, is scriptural, luminous, and strong, and throughout abounds in happy illustration. That derived from the history of the Eddystone light-house is stated with uncommon felicity. The lesson it conveys we would do well to remember.

But the third chapter, on the Injurious Effects of Infant Baptism, is more masterly still. Here Prof. Curtis calmly but firmly grapples with the modern defences of this ancient innovation by such men as Coleridge, Bushnell, Bunsen, and the able writers of the 'North British Review.' These defences all rest ultimately upon the Romish dogma of "a discretionary power of the church" to change her own divine constitution. This, as advanced by Coleridge, in his *Aids to Reflection*, is first reduced to absurdity, and then the theory of "organic connection," advanced by Dr. Bushnell, shares the same fate, and its "dangerous tendencies" are fully pointed out in the language of Congregationalists themselves. The defence of Chevalier Bunsen is shown to involve the reform of the Bible itself, and that of the 'North British Review' a change of the Rule of Faith, as well as a reform in the rule of Biblical interpretation.

The fourth chapter, on the subject of Church Communion, sustains, by a historical review, as well as by argument, the much controverted Baptist principle, that open communion is

unwise and injurious. We commend this to the reader, especially its closing observations, as eminently able, impressive, and conciliatory, yet uncompromising. We think he proves, beyond dispute, these two points: that the ordinances of Christ are committed to the churches as guardians, and that the churches are organized by Christ as aggressive bodies to act with the multiple force of numbers, character and unity; and hence that the practice of open or mixed communion involves, on their part, both a breach of trust and a loss of power.

The third book is devoted to the progress of principles always held by evangelical Christians, but more consistently by Baptists. These are the three following:

1. The Sufficiency of Holy Scripture.
2. Salvation by Grace alone.
3. The Essential Priesthood of all Christians.

These great life-principles of the Protestant Reformation, it is the object of Prof. Curtis to show, from a review of facts for the last hundred years, require the acknowledgment of Baptist principles to be advocated with force, consistency, and efficiency. In executing his design, he displays a comprehensive range of thought, a discriminating judgment, a catholic spirit, and an intimate acquaintance with all the leading tendencies and movements of the age, both at home and abroad. We commend them all, but especially the last to the attention of the reader. It strikes a decisive blow at the root of all usurped sacerdotal power, whether in Romanism, Puseyism, or Episcopacy.

The fourth chapter of this part treats with ability the connection of Baptist principles with political liberty, particularly as developed within the last century in this country, and its effects on foreign nations. His facts, and his philosophy of the facts, will well repay perusal. They deserve to be better known. They corroborate the views of Senator Hunter, already cited, and will one day be fully acknowledged by all.

The concluding chapter contains a recapitulation of the facts historically established in the course of the work, and a justification of the author in spreading them before the world.

He pleads the just respect due to historical truth at all times and from all men; the direction and force of modern attacks upon evangelical Christianity; the weakening effect of the internal difficulties and inextricable entanglements of evangelical Pedobaptists; the immensely improved condition of the Baptists within the last hundred years; and the present relative positions and gradual approaches of these two great parties of Evangelical Christendom, as reasons which fully justify, and even demand, a fraternal freedom of utterance upon facts, which in reality are of equal interest and consequence to both.

An Appendix of about thirty pages, and two Indexes, one to the topics and the other to the texts discussed, add to the practical value of this well prepared volume, which we hesitate not to pronounce one of the most important contributions to the history of doctrines, to the philosophy of history, to ecclesiastical law, and to evangelical union; in a word, to the practical workings of Christianity on the largest scale, which has lately appeared from the American press.

We shall be indulged in a few reflections which have been suggested by its perusal.

The first of these is of special interest to us as Christian Reviewers—The importance of distinguishing Baptist principles from the conduct of any particular individual or body of Baptists. This is not always done. The imperfections of the latter are too apt to be ascribed to the former; whereas they are no more referable to Baptist principles than they are to the Bible itself. Baptist principles are professedly Bible principles, in the fullest sense. They disclaim all authority but that of Christ. They appeal to no other tribunal. His word is ultimate. Tried by this pure and lofty standard, spots must appear in us, and in all our churches. These spots are readily seized upon by an uncandid observer as the fruits of our principles, but they only exist in consequence of the want of a complete practical conformity to them. At the worst, they can only prove inconsistency or insincerity in our profession of faith and fellowship with our crucified Lord—a profession made voluntarily by ourselves in the solemn act of baptism. Baptists may, in certain in-

stances, be bigoted, worldly, or contentious about trifles; but Baptist principles are the most free, the most liberal, the most spiritual, the most charitable, fraternal, forbearing, forgiving. Baptists may, in certain instances, be ignorant, selfish, timid, temporizing; but Baptist principles are the most enlightened, the most self-denying, self-sacrificing, ennobling, and heroic. And, as this volume abundantly shows, they have borne such fruits within the last hundred years.

Again, if Baptists now are not what they ought to be, it is in a great measure because they do not fully understand their own principles. We are apt to complain that other denominations do not understand us, do not comprehend us; but how can we expect them to do so, until we take more pains to study, and comprehend and carry out Baptist principles? How few among us have fairly settled their own judgment as to the number, form, proportions, relations and vital consequences of these principles—their peculiar power, their worth, their history, their glory. Satisfied of their scriptural origin and truth, we overlook their real importance, until it is forced upon our attention by contrast, in the developments of time and history—startling developments, that arouse us from our thoughtless slumber. We forget that because our principles are *divine*, they are replete with divine power and wisdom—that the so-called “foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness is stronger than men”—that one great end in creation is, “that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God.” How does this volume rebuke all such indifference or forgetfulness! How clearly does it demonstrate, by a great variety of facts, that all the attempts of men to improve upon the divine constitution of the Church have been a series of disastrous failures, and cannot now be defended except upon principles of the most dangerous and destructive tendency!

We would not in these remarks be understood to say, that Prof. Curtis has enumerated, classified, and developed all Baptist principles. No man has yet thus exhausted the subject. We think it would not be difficult to point out others almost equally essential to the divine system, which

the author of this volume would instantly recognize and indorse; as, for instance, a divinely called and qualified ministry. We might here and there suggest other facts and other testimonies tending to corroborate his own positions. We might even suggest the propriety of separating by some stronger line of distinction those Baptist principles which have been *generally and practically adopted* by other evangelical denominations in this country, within the last hundred years, from those which have only been *conceded in theory* by their most enlightened men at home and abroad. We might wish to add something more on the prodigious force of the evidence inherent in Baptist principles, that could thus carry not secret conviction only to the minds of such men, but even prompt their ingenuous confession in the very writings by which they hope to be remembered to the latest generations of time, though at the hazard of being condemned for practical inconsistency not only among men, but before the judgment seat of Christ. We might wish to place in bright contrast with this practical inconsistency the names of a long roll of illustrious men, who within the last hundred years have sacrificed the prejudices of education, the fascinations of custom, the ties of natural affection, position, rank, reputation, property, ease, the most attached friends and the most brilliant prospects, on the altar of Christian and Ministerial fidelity. But this does not alter our general estimate of the exceeding value of the labors of Prof. Curtis, in this almost untrodden field. More than any man living, he has made it his own. No new Professor of Theology ever sent forth a nobler Inaugural.

* We can scarcely repress the conviction that the time is come, when Baptists everywhere must take a more decided stand, and rise up to the nobleness of their essential principles. We must live and speak like men who are intrusted with a divine commission which we are to carry out for the honor of Christ and the benefit of our brethren of every name and creed. As Neander has said, a great future is before us. The time for timid policy, if such a time ever existed, is now assuredly past. The glory of the New Testament, sealed with our Redeemer's blood—the world's universal need of

the principles of vital evangelical religion—the immense progress of the last hundred years—the cheering certainty of the future which is heralded by the past—the promised presence of our Lord in faithfully carrying out every feature of His great commission—all, all summon us to gird on our armor, and go forth to the battle with the full assurance of victory.

Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
While Error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.

ART. III.—CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

“TESTAMENTUM vetus de Christo exhibendo, Novum de Christo exhibito, agit; Novum in veteri latet, vetus in novo patet.” Such was the declaration of the great Augustine. What now is the testimony of the Saviour and his apostles on these points? or, in other words, *How much of Christ and the gospel do the New Testament writers discover in the Old Testament Scriptures?* We propose first briefly to present their testimony on this point, and then make some observations respecting the character and interpretation of some of the Messianic prophecies.

From the New Testament we learn that there are *things written concerning Christ*; in other words, prophecies relating to him, “*in all the Scriptures*” of the Old Testament: in the *Prophets*, Luke xviii. 31; in the *Law of Moses* and *all the prophets*, Luke xxiv. 27; Acts xxviii. 23; and in the *Law* and the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*, Luke xxiv. 44.* On examination of these passages, in the connection where they are found, it will appear that the “things concerning Christ, in the minds of the writers or speakers, have reference mainly to the Saviour’s *sufferings, death and resurrection*. It is explicitly stated that David speaketh concerning Christ and his *resurrection*.

* See a previous article, entitled, *The Old Testament judged by the New*. Also Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark ix. 12; Luke xxii. 37; John xii. 16; Acts xiii. 29.

Acts ii. 25-31; xiii. 32 sq. Peter declares that God, by the mouth of *all* his prophets, foretold the sufferings of Christ. Acts iii. 18; 1 Pet. i. 11. Paul also affirms that Christ died for our sins, and rose again according to the Scriptures (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4); and that in announcing the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ, he said none other things than those which Moses and the prophets did say should come. Acts xxvi. 22, 23; Comp. Acts xiii. 27; xvii, 2, 3; John ii. 22; xx. 9. Our Saviour constantly represented his sufferings and death as something *necessary* to the accomplishment of Scripture prophecy, and hence inquires: How then (were I rescued from these) could the Scriptures be fulfilled? Matt. xxvi. 54-56; Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 26-46. It is also a remarkable circumstance, that the conversation which Moses and Elijah held with Jesus, on the mount of transfiguration, had reference to the *decease* which the latter should accomplish at Jerusalem. Luke ix. 31. May we not infer from this, also, that the "things concerning Jesus" in the *law* and the *prophets*, whether as sacrificial types or prophecies, all pointed to the *death* of Christ as the "one sacrifice" for sin.

Not only were our Saviour's sufferings and death foretold by the prophets, but likewise his birth, character, mission, and the various important events of his earthly life. Moses and the prophets wrote concerning him (John v. 46; i. 45); yea, *all* the prophets, it is averred, have borne him witness (Acts x. 43), and have foretold of these gospel days. Acts iii. 21-24; Comp. Luke i. 70; Acts vii. 52; 1 Pet. i. 10.* David not only spake of Christ but in spirit, *i. e.*, by the Holy Ghost, called him his Lord. Matt. xxii. 43. Jesus, according to the evangelist Philip, is the subject of the prophecy in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah (Acts viii. 35); and the same prophet, as John testifies, saw the glory of Christ, and spake of him. John xii. 41;† Comp. Isaiah vi. 1 sq.

* When it is said that there are things concerning Christ in *all* the Scriptures, and that *all* the prophets have testified of him, these expressions, it should be considered, serve merely to denote a *general* truth, and should not therefore be strained to their utmost tension of meaning.

† From this, and other passages in the New Testament, we might suppose that the apostles regarded Christ as "the angel of Jehovah," the manifested Deity of the Old Testament. The Leader whom the Israelites tempted in the

Frequent mention also is made in the New Testament of the *promises* made unto the fathers, which promises refer to the Messiah and his great salvation. Acts xiii. 23-32; Rom. xv. 8; Gal. iii. 16.

Hence as the *promised* Messiah, prophet and king, he is called *the* Christ (John xi. 27; Acts xviii. 28), and the coming one, or, he who should come. Matt. xi. 3; xxi. 9; Luke xix. 38; John vi. 14. And thus the gospel itself was promised aforetime by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures. Rom. i. 2; iii. 21; xvi. 26; Titus i. 2. Its glad tidings were announced to Abraham, and therefore, as our Saviour declares, he rejoiced with exultation that he should see the day of Christ. Gal. iii. 8; John viii. 56. Even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances, *shadowed forth* good things to come, prefiguring, doubtless, that *better* sacrifice which has been offered up once for all, and thus serving as an educational guide to Christ. Heb. x. 1 sq.; Gal. iii. 24.

The patriarchs, indeed, saw these promises afar off, yet they embraced them through faith, and in this faith they died. Heb. xi. 13. The many prophets and righteous men of whom our Saviour speaks, were at least so far acquainted with the person and work of Christ, that they longed to behold these in actual manifestation, and they who inquired and searched diligently (we are not told, in vain) in regard to the time and the circumstances of the Redeemer's appearing, yet prophesied of the grace that should come unto us, and testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Matt. xiii. 17: 1 Pet. i. 10, sq.

From all this we may learn with how much emphasis and truth the Saviour could say, "*The Scriptures testify of me.*" John v. 39. We may also learn one reason why the apostles and evangelists, in their preaching, appealed not so much to the miracles of Christ as to the Old Testament prophecies, and were accustomed to persuade their hearers, concerning Christ, both out of the law and the prophets, and to reason

wilderness was Christ. The spiritual rock from which they drank was Christ. Moses esteemed the reproaches of *Christ* greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. The (Holy) Spirit of *Christ* inspired the prophets who prophesied of the grace that should be revealed. See 1 Cor. x. 4-9; Heb. xi. 26; 1 Pet. i. 11.

with them out of the Scriptures, showing by them that Jesus is the Christ. Acts xxviii. 23; xvii. 2, 3; xviii. 28.

Another and very important phase of the subject yet remains to be presented; namely, the alleged *fulfillment of the Scriptures*, in the person of Jesus. Every student of the gospels (of Matthew and John especially) is familiar with the formula, *that the Scripture* (or the saying, or that which was spoken, &c.) *might be fulfilled*. We have now, perhaps, in our investigations, reached a point from which we may the better ascertain the meaning which the Saviour and the apostles attached to these terms.

From the character of some of the Scripture passages which are said to be fulfilled, many persons have supposed that this fulfillment does not generally denote an accomplishment of *prophecy*, but rather a "rhetorical accommodation" of certain declarations in the Old Testament to certain events recorded in the New. The event and the declaration have such a striking resemblance, that the one may be most happily described or illustrated by the other. In other words, what we supposed was a fulfillment of prophecy, is merely a rhetorical allusion or simile. Now, ten thousand such *accommodating* fulfillments as these could never prove the Messiahship of Jesus. Nay, if the fulfillments of Scripture in the New Testament are of this kind and order, then, in the language of Herder, we have merely an "accommodated Christ," and not the promised Messiah. Our Saviour everywhere speaks of his sufferings as necessary to the fulfillment of the Scriptures. Did he, then, endure all his indescribable agonies for the sake of rhetorical allusions and mere resemblances of words? Did all that happened to him take place *in order that* we might discover striking comparisons in the Old Testament? The son of perdition was lost, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. But did he then perish for the sake of a simile? Some, however, would assign another meaning to the Greek particle, and render the phrase in question as follows: All this was done, *so that* the Scripture *was* fulfilled. But this rendering, even if it were grammatical, would not greatly help the matter. It has against it, however, both the laws of grammar and the general *usus loquendi*,

as Winer has shown in his 'Idioms of the New Testament, and never would it have been adopted by any one, except as a means of escape from some supposed difficulty of logic or doctrine.* "All things," says our Saviour, "which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me, *must* be fulfilled." But why *must* the Scriptures be fulfilled? Because they reveal the purposes of Jehovah respecting his Son. Hence the Saviour must suffer and die, *in order that* the Scriptures might be fulfilled. This does not necessarily designate the *sole* design or final cause of his sufferings and death; for by these, several objects may have been accomplished, while only one is here specified. Christ declares that there are things written concerning him in all the scriptures of the Old Testament. These things must be prophecies in the strictest sense. He also declared that these *must* be fulfilled, and that all his sufferings were undergone by him in order to their fulfillment. Without these sufferings, the Scriptures *could not* be fulfilled. Here, then, we have a fulfillment (of prophecy) in its strict sense. On the ground of this representation we can see how the

* "Former interpreters," says Winer, "above all, overlooked the fact, that *ἵνα* was frequently to be judged of after the Hebrew teleology, which confounds worldly consequences with divine designs and counsels, or rather *represents each important result as ordered and intended by God* (Comp. Exod. xi. 9; Ps. li. 4; Isaiah vi. 10; Jer. xxvii. 15; John xix. 24; Rom. xi. 31), and that therefore, in the language of the Scriptures, *ἵνα* (in order that) can be frequently used when, according to our view of the divine government, we should have used *ὥστε* (so that). Other passages were not carefully enough examined, or it would have become evident that *ἵνα* was correct, according to the *common* mode of thinking. In other passages, it was not taken into view that sometimes, on rhetorical grounds, *in order that* is used, which is a kind of hyperbole (*e. g.*, so then I must go thither, *in order to* bring on sickness! So then I have built the house, *in order to* see it burnt down!); or, finally, that *ἵνα* expresses only the *necessary* consequence (founded on the regular course of nature and of life) which he, who does something, designs as if unconsciously." On the phrase *ἵνα* (*ὅπως*) *πληρωθῇ*, &c. he remarks, "*It cannot be doubted that this formula, which was for some time translated *ita ut* (so that), has the stronger meaning, in order that it might be fulfilled, in the mouth (as of the Jewish teachers, so) of Jesus and the apostles. Their meaning was: God has predicted that this should be done; therefore, as the divine prophecies are true, it could not but occur.*" So Olshausen, De Wette, and others. The first remark of Weiner's we deem specially important for the correct interpretation of the Scriptures.

apostles, when describing important events in our Saviour's life, could employ the above formula, and say "all this was done, in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled." We do not deny that the word *fulfill* is sometimes used in the New Testament in a wider signification than this. It *may* have been used, even as we sometimes use it, in the way of accommodation. Our Saviour, addressing the scribes and pharisees, says: "Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you." Matt. xv. 7. Here, perhaps, the original prophecy had no particular reference to these scribes and pharisees, only as their hypocrisies made it specially applicable to them. Again, in Matt. xiii. 14, Christ says: "In them (the multitude to whom he had been speaking) is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith," &c. The apostle Paul makes application of this same prophecy, many years later, to the Jews of Rome. Acts xxviii. 25. In the commencement of the 78th psalm, which recounts the marvellous deeds which Jehovah wrought when he brought the Israelites out of Egypt, the poet says: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old." This is not properly a prediction, and yet Matthew remarks, that on one occasion Jesus spake to the multitude only in parables, *that the saying of the prophet might be fulfilled.* Matt. xiii. 35. See also Matt. ii. 17. A word or two now in reference to these "accommodations."

To our mind it appears evident that the Saviour, the apostles, and the New Testament writers generally, have discovered more of Christ and the gospel in the Old Testament than we should naturally have supposed. It would seem that, in their view, everything in the ancient Scriptures (to speak in general terms) pointed to Christ, and centered in him. Everything without him was imperfect and deficient, and hence must needs be *filled out*; that is, fulfilled in him and by him. Everything was thus preparatory to, and predicted of Christ. The inspired prophet who opened his mouth in parables was an imperfect representative of him who spake as never man spake. The paschal lamb whose bones should not be broken, was a prophetic symbol of the Lamb of God slain as a sacrifice for our sins. The infant Israel, adopted by Jehovah as his first born son, and called out of

Egypt, Hosea xi. 1, was a type of God's only begotten and well-beloved Son.* As all the Scriptures had reference to Christ, so in him *alone* must they be fulfilled. They could not even be *accommodated* to any other individual. Many persons, doubtless, have been crucified whose bones were not broken. Many children of God, doubtless, have been called out of Egypt; but the apostles could never have represented these and many other Scripture passages as *fulfilled* in any other individual than Christ. By some such view as this we shall be enabled more fully to understand the interpretation of the Old Testament by Christ and his apostles. We shall see that even the accommodations which they made of the Scriptures were, in an important sense, fulfilments of prophecy. We may call all this fanciful, but whether it be so or not, we cannot doubt that the apostles regarded these fulfillments, generally, as actual accomplishments of real prophecy.† And is not some such view as this both reasonable and correct? Is not the entire Old Testament, as even De Wette affirms, a great prophecy—a great type of Him who was to come? Is there not “in all the Scriptures” a looking toward Christ and his great salvation? Is not the sum of its teachings this: a Saviour is to come? Is there not a thick and impenetrable “veil” of obscurity resting on the Old Testament, unless, indeed, it is done away in Christ? And hence may we not term the entire Old Testament a *protevangelium*, the primal gospel? And in this gospel, which testifies of Christ, and reveals in all its parts so many things concerning

* Some biblical scholars, however, *e. g.*, W. L. Alexander, of England, deny any reference to this passage in the New Testament.

† “That the opinion of the apostles, and of our Lord himself, in regard to miracles and prophecy, has been altogether changed and distorted by disputations of this sort (by *philosophizing*, instead of simply *interpreting*), must be conceded. . . . If the apostles were eye-witnesses, who could not be deceived, and have narrated all events and circumstances just as they occurred, and if our Lord was such as he is described in the New Testament, and such as adversaries themselves concede him to have been, then those interpreters surely act without consideration, who explain their language in such a way as to make them subject either to reproach, on account of fraud, or to correction, on account of error; who make Jesus either a juggler, deceiving the people by his arts (for no fraud can derive an excuse from the *intention* with which it is committed), or else a *vain-glorious man*, who boasts that this and that which the prophets have uttered without meaning (εἰκῆ), has not only been fulfilled in himself, but was also primarily spoken in reference to him alone.” See article by J. A. H. Tittman, on the “Causes of forced interpretations of the New Testament.”—*Bib. Repos.* 1831. p. 489.

him, must we not, as Christian interpreters, expect to find Christ often therein? It has been said of Cocceius, that he finds Christ everywhere in the Old Testament; and of Grotius, that he finds him nowhere. Certainly, were we called upon to side with one or the other, we must take our stand with the former.

But this view of things, it may be objected, will lead to allegorizing and to "double senses." If it *necessarily* leads thither, our reply is: very well. Even double senses may not be the worst things in the world. In fact it were well if interpreters had always limited themselves to that number. Besides, do not all Christian interpreters attach a kind of double sense to much which is recorded in the Old Testament; for example—to the curse pronounced upon the serpent and upon Adam and Eve and the promise given them? or, coming down to later times, to much which is said in the prophets respecting David, Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, &c.? But whether this be so or not, it is acknowledged that *types* have a *double reference*, and it cannot be shown that prophecies *may* not have.—They *must* have it in some instances, or much of Scripture fulfillment, we conceive, is reduced to mere rhetorical accommodations: We believe there is a *divinely intended correspondence* between the old covenant and the new, and that certain declarations and prophecies of the Old Testament have from their nature, and were designed to have, a two-fold reference—a reference to something near at hand and inferior, and to something more remote and exalted.* We find this two-fold reference in many of the prophecies of the so-called Pseudo-Isaiah, chapters 40–66. Like two diverging rays falling upon an inner and outer concentric circle, so these prophecies, looking beyond the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy heptades of Daniel, embrace in one view both the deliverance from exile

* Bengel in his *Gnomon N. T.*, thus remarks: "Sæpe in N. T. allegantur vaticinia, quorum contextum prophetarum temporum non dubium est, quin auditores eorum ex *intentione divina* interpretari debuerint de rebus jam tum præsentibus. Eadem vero *intentio divini, longius prospiciens*, sic formavit orationem, ut magis propriè deinceps ea convenirent in tempora Messiae, et hanc intentionem divinam Apostoli nos docent, nosque dociles habere debent.

by Cyrus and the greater deliverance to be effected by Christ. We find a two-fold reference in Nathan's prophecy to David, 2 Sam. 7: 12-16. This prophecy is several times referred to in the Psalms, (*e.g.* 89: 3, 4, 19, seq.; 132: 11,) and forms the basis of very many of the succeeding Messianic prophecies. No one can doubt that Solomon is referred to in this prophecy, nor can any one who yields entire deference to the teachings of Scripture doubt that reference is also had to one "greater than Solomon." That the New Testament writers discover a fullness of meaning in this prophecy which could not be exhausted in the person of Solomon, but only in the person of David's greater son, is fully evident from such passages as Acts 2: 30; 13: 23; Luke 1: 32, 33; Heb. 1: 5. A similar reference, we think, is also to be found in the 16th Psalm, a portion of which is interpreted by the Apostles Peter and Paul in the New Testament. Perhaps it may be well for us carefully to examine this Psalm in connection with the interpretation given, that we may the better understand the character of Messianic prophecy, and the true principles of Messianic interpretation; for this whole subject is attended with peculiar difficulties, as all who have paid much attention to it will allow, and as is further evinced by the tomes and volumes written on it and by the discordant theories which are therein advocated. We have, in the words of the Apostle Peter, without doubt, the same explanation of this psalm which only a few days previously he had heard while journeying to Emmaus from the lips of Christ himself.

First let us look at this psalm apart from any reference to the New Testament. It professes to have been written by David, who appears also to be the speaker throughout and to speak concerning himself. The position of the writer seems to be one of difficulty and danger, and hence he appeals to God for succour and declares his confidence in Him. In the latter part of the psalm he expresses a joyful assurance that he shall obtain the victory even over death and the grave, and a fullness of bliss in God's presence for ever. The psalm thus has a general affinity with many others in which the feelings of the suffering and afflicted righteous are portrayed. It bears especially a striking resemblance to the

psalm which follows. The closing verses of both, it will be observed, express substantially the same thought. The psalm is located amid others of the same general character and of the same authorship. If now we explain this psalm "*according to the laws of interpretation common to all other books*" (than the Bible,) as Professor Stuart would have us do, we shall undoubtedly refer all its parts directly and exclusively to its author, David. The contents of the psalm will not forbid our doing this; nay, if explained by "*the laws of human language employed in its ordinary way*" we must do this, though the difficulties which lie in our way were greater than they are. In the first seven verses, however, there is nothing which is not entirely applicable to David. The reference to him in the remaining verses is indeed more difficult, especially if they are understood *literally*. But we must remember that our author is a *poet*, and that much of his language is naturally figurative and even hyperbolic. Besides, in the reading of the 10th verse there is a variation in the Hebrew manuscripts, and we might with De Wette, Hengstenberg and others, translate it: "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades nor suffer thy *holy one* to see the grave." In this and the closing verse the psalmist gives utterance to a confident hope of endless life and blessedness beyond the grave. Should any one however deny this reference to a future life, then these words might be compared with the declaration of the heathen poet, Horace: "*Non omnis moriar,*" &c.

Let us now transfer ourselves to Jerusalem, and listen to the discourse of Peter on the day of Pentecost. He is quoting from this very psalm, but his words, as they reach our ears, are taken from the Septuagint version and not from the original Hebrew. However, the Greek version in this case very accurately expresses the sense of the original. Having quoted the last four verses of the psalm, he then proceeds to its interpretation:—"Men and brethren, I may freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the

flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this, before spoke of *the resurrection of Christ*, that *his* soul was not left in hell neither *his* flesh did see corruption." See Acts 2: 25-36; the *locus classicus* of Messianic interpretation. A new world of light and thought now opens to our minds—*David speaks concerning Christ and his resurrection*—But how is this? for it appears rather strange. Could not Peter have put David's words into the mouth of Jesus by way of accommodation? Might not Matthew or John, after speaking in their gospels of the resurrection of Christ have added: "All this was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled; 'Thou wilt not leave my soul to Hades nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption?'" And then we might say: these words of the Psalmist serve very happily to express the fact of the Saviour's victorious resurrection from the grave? But no, he must give up the accommodation theory in this instance. There is too much of point and speciality in Peter's discourse to allow of this. Besides, the Apostle Paul has advanced the same interpretation of this psalm. In language stronger even than that of Peter, he says: "Wherefore," (in proof that God hath raised up Christ from the dead to die no more,) "he," (i. e. *God*, by the mouth of David,) "saith in another psalm: Thou shalt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption." Acts 13: 34-37. If then we will not acknowledge the authority, nor assent to the interpretation of the Apostles, we at least must say with De Wette: "The Apostles here assume a direct prophecy, which, however, cannot be recognized by the historical interpreter."

We return once more to our psalm. We have learned from the lips of inspired Apostles that David, in this psalm, speaketh concerning Christ and his resurrection. David, then, must have been divinely inspired to foreknow the future. Peter describes him as a prophet who foresaw what should happen to Christ. He says in another place, that the Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David; and our Saviour affirmed that David spake in the Holy Ghost. Compare 2 Sam. 23: 2; 1 Sam. 16: 13. Christ also declared that there were things written concerning himself in the *Psalms* as well as in other parts of the Old Testament, and by his subsequent

remarks implies, that these things have reference to his sufferings and his rising from the dead. We will then again examine this psalm, keeping in view its particular reference to Christ. We see nothing, however, in the first seven verses which is *specially* applicable to Christ. Indeed these words in the mouth of the Saviour seem far less appropriate than the first part of the succeeding psalm. Nor does Peter say that David speaks concerning Christ in these verses or *throughout* the psalm, but only in the verses which he quotes, *i.e.* the last four. True, it would be more accordant with our habits of orderly consecutive thought to find but one subject in this psalm, since there appears to be but one speaker; it must be remembered, however, that the Holy Spirit of prophecy seldom follows our logical methods. It is scarcely less forced and arbitrary, as some might term it, to find a change of subject *in* the psalm, than it would be to make the Messiah the speaker throughout, since the psalm, connected as it is with others which have David for their speaker and subject, does yet not give the slightest notice or intimation of such a change. Besides, there are other psalms whose speakers are respectively the same throughout, which yet cannot, *as a whole*, be referred to the Messiah, for in them the speakers make confession of their *iniquities*. See Ps. 40, 41 and 69. This latter psalm especially, has more Messianic passages and is oftener referred to Christ in the New Testament than (perhaps with one exception) any other psalm in the Bible, and yet we hear the speaker saying: "O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hid from thee." In Nathan's prophecy to David, in which so many of the inspired writers have found a reference to Christ, God yet says: "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men." Now certainly we cannot, and we need not, throw away all these portions of Scripture as un-Messianic, nor shall we be led to do so, except through a faulty system of interpretation. While, therefore, we acknowledge that the whole of *this* psalm may be referred to Christ, we yet deny the *necessity* of this exclusive reference.

We come now to the verses quoted by the Apostle Peter.

These we unhesitatingly refer to Christ.* They are far more appropriate for him than for David or for any merely *human* person. But how then could David adopt such language, and why must it be referred to the Messiah? The Apostles will help us to answer this question in part. Paul simply affirms that these words must be referred to Christ rather than to David, because *they could not be fulfilled* in the person of the latter, "for David," he goes on to say, "after he had served his own generation, by the will of God, fell asleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and *saw corruption*; but he whom God raised again saw no corruption." Peter, however, not only states that David saw corruption, and therefore that these words could not be fulfilled in him, but informs us also how David could employ the language which he did. It was because he was a prophet, and hence foresaw that Christ was the one from his own loins, whom God had promised to establish on his throne, that he could speak of the resurrection of Christ.

This does not explain everything, but it serves to show how David could here connect himself in thought with his greater son, how he could thus become as one with him and lose himself in him, and thus speak in his person; for it is *David* still that speaks. We may also see how the words thus spoken are spoken in truth, not concerning himself, but in reference to the Messiah.

From this representation, it will be perceived that we do not regard the Messiah as the speaker in these verses, much less throughout the entire Psalm. It is *David* that speaks *concerning* Christ. Hence had he made confession of his sinfulness in the beginning of the Psalm, this to our minds would not at all affect the Messianic character of its closing verses. But it may be objected, if David thus speaks concerning himself in one verse and concerning Christ in the

* In saying this, we do not mean that David, as an isolated individual and apart from Christ, could not appropriate these words *in part* to himself. Doubtless, however, he was aware that the words he employed contained a fullness of meaning which could not be exhausted in himself, and that they could only be *fulfilled* in the person of the Messiah, to whom he felt himself united. But, whether David was fully conscious of this Messianic reference or not, it is certain at least that, "the Holy Ghost which spake by the mouth of David," employed this language with special reference to Christ.

next, and this too, without intimating any change of subject, how shall we know when the Scriptures have reference to Christ? In reply, we would say, we have at least the test and reason which Peter and Paul make use of, namely, *the impossibility of their fulfilment in any other person than the Messiah*. See Acts ii. 29, 34, xiii. 36. We, however, are not left to our unaided reason in determining the Messianic prophecies, since on this point we have not only the instructions of the Apostles, but of our Lord himself.

There are other objections to considering the Messiah as the speaker in this Psalm. It is eminently against the manner of David thus to ignore and forget himself throughout an entire Psalm. His writings are intensely subjective, and hence in them we do not often, nor long lose sight of David, his sufferings, his trust in God, his hopes of deliverance. We, therefore, without hesitation, assign the groundwork and general character of this Psalm to the experience, feelings, and hopes of its author. Besides, if David is the author of this Psalm, and yet *nothing* of David is seen in it, this would seem to establish the correctness of the theory which Hengstenberg advocates and which Professor Stuart combated so vehemently, namely, that "when the divine spirit comes into a man, his own soul goes out of him."* Certainly if this theory be true, David at least, could not often have spoken in the Holy Ghost.

While Professor Stuart would refer this Psalm wholly to Christ,† and others (even in our own land), would refer it wholly to David, Professor Hengstenberg, in his *later* Christology would refer it to neither, nor indeed, to any particular person. According to this learned and excellent author, the subject of this Psalm, as of many others, in which a suffering Messiah is predicted, is the *ideal righteous person*. As now this ideal character is only fully realized in Christ, so in him alone is *fulfilled* that which was declared of this ideal

* Hengstenberg's own statement is, "that the prophets were in an *ecstasy*, in which intelligent consciousness retired and individual agency was entirely suppressed by a powerful operation of the Divine Spirit, and reduced to a state of passiveness."

† See Bib. Repos., 1831, p. 51, *seq.*

righteous one. A serious objection against this theory, in our mind, is that it will not allow of any special, exclusive reference either to David or to Christ. Hence, for example, the psalmist could not have said with reference to Christ, "they pierced my hands and my feet," since, according to our author, "the Psalm has reference to Christ only as embodying the perfect idea of the *righteous man*"—a supposition which would render unsuitable anything having reference *exclusively* to Christ.*

We likewise object to this view of things as altogether *too abstract*, and too little subjective for David's manner. Besides, how can the subject of Psalms 40, 41, 69, &c. be the *ideal righteous* one, when the speaker makes confession of his sins and iniquities? For these and other reasons, we cannot assent to the correctness of this *idealistic* theory.

We have thus endeavored, not so much to develop the Old Testament Christology, but rather to present certain ground facts and first principles respecting it, as they are discovered from the stand-point of the New Testament. It only remains for us to notice an objection which may be urged against the testimony of Christ and the Apostles, as above presented. It is asked, if there are so many things concerning Christ in the Old Testament, why are they not more easily discovered? But is it strange, we ask in reply, that the carnal, worldly-minded Jews, and the self-righteous Scribes and Pharisees of our Saviour's time could not easily recognize their hoped-for national deliverer in the meek and lowly Jesus, and that so few of them responded to the joyful *eurekamen* of Philip and Andrew, "*we have found the Messiah?*" Is it strange that even Christ's disciples, having lived and breathed so long in the atmosphere of pharisaic Judaism, were slow of heart to understand and *believe* all that the Prophets had spoken? And do we wonder that, to the *blinded* minds of the Jews, the same veil until this day remaineth untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament?

But does this veil rest on any *Christian* minds? Cannot

* See his "Commentary on the Psalms," vol. i. p. 357, *et seq.* Also, vol. iii. pp. 78-81 of the Appendix (English Translation.)

we discover the things concerning Christ in the Old Testament Scriptures? Does not the New Testament pour a flood of light on all its pages? Or has not the Holy Spirit illumined "what in us is dark?" There are some persons, doubtless, who can, in their own imagination, suggest some improvements in the character of prophecy, even as there are some who would have made a far different and better world than ours. Ammon, in his Christology, gives us, in a single sentence, a specimen of Messianic prophecy, which he deems preferable to all the oracles of the Old Testament put together.* Perhaps, however, the work of prophecy, like that of world-making, is more difficult than, at first thought, we might have supposed. Even now many of the Old Testament prophecies are so plain and explicit that sceptics look upon them as predictions *post eventum*, i. e. written after the events had transpired. Had all prophecy, therefore, the definiteness of history, its influence in many ways would, doubtless, be most pernicious. Hengstenberg goes so far as to say, that had the Messianic prophecies possessed this historical clearness their accomplishment would have been impossible; and this certainly, is a conceivable case. It seems to us also that impostors might, in many instances, take advantage of this explicitness of prophecy to practice their deceptions and wiles. It is well for us, therefore, even as an exercise of our faith and hope and love that, with the authors of these prophecies, we have to inquire and search diligently into their hidden mysteries, and that we wait for the full comprehension of them until we reach that world where we shall know even as also we are known.

* See the citation in Hengstenberg's Christology, vol. i. p. 242 (English Translation.)

ARTICLE IV.—ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D.

Life of Archibald Alexander, D.D., First Professor in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton, New Jersey. By JAS. W. ALEXANDER, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1854.

BIOGRAPHIES, executed by near relatives, are not usually just portraiture of character. The insensible bias created by natural affection, diverts attention from defects, which may be quite apparent to one who is influenced by no private considerations; or the anxiety which such a biographer cherishes to guard against undue commendation, leads him to withhold praise to which the subject of whom he writes is fairly entitled. Dr. Alexander seems to have been fully aware of this embarrassment in preparing the memoirs of his father. Forewarned of his liability to err, he has avoided these extremes, and has given us a book which will commend itself to every candid mind by the impartiality, accuracy, and fidelity of its statements. He has not, like Dr. Hanna, the connexion and the biographer of Dr. Chalmers, so crowded his narrative with unimportant details and tedious repetitions, that a work which with proper condensation might have been compressed into one book of reasonable dimensions, has been carried through four thick volumes, and these supplemented by a fifth; but he has furnished us with a memoir so well proportioned and concise, and at the same time so unexaggerated and complete, that we could wish nothing supplied and nothing omitted. We willingly pause to pay this tribute to the author of the work before us, because we do not often have the opportunity of bestowing such praise on the writers or compilers of memoirs.

Archibald Alexander was in our view, one of the most valuable men whom God has ever given to our country. He was a Presbyterian; and his life was mainly given to the expositions of such views of Christianity as are pronounced orthodox in Presbyterian creeds or confessions of faith. But he has done so much for the vindication of our common Christianity from the aspersions of its libellers, and was in

many points so zealous and unwearied an advocate of that faith which is dear to the heart of every Christian, that we deem him richly entitled to notice in the pages of a Baptist Review. For more than sixty years he was an humble, laborious and self-denying servant of the Cross of Christ. Whether we regard the abundant pastoral and ministerial duties in which he was engaged up to the fortieth year of his life, or the hundreds of Christian heralds who were sent forth under his pious and effective training, at a more mature period of his career, to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation; or the numerous contributions which he made to the Christian literature of the day, we find him constantly putting into operation trains of hallowed influences whose extent and value can be ascertained by no human means of admeasurement.

Dr. Alexander appeared upon the stage, in a section of the country and at a period of time peculiarly needing the instructions of an evangelical ministry. He was born in what is now known as Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1772. When he began his career as a preacher, in 1791, there were large districts of country in his native State, in which the people rarely heard a sermon of any kind; whilst much of what was called preaching, could only be so termed in the exercise of the most enlarged charity. Coming forward at such a time and with such eminent qualifications for usefulness, he appears to have been one of those men most unequivocally indicated by Providence for the accomplishment of a great work.

The preceptor who had the principal direction of his early studies was a man who united the vocations of schoolmaster and preacher, so common in the early history of our country, when the churches were few and feeble. To Mr. William Grahame, his first teacher, Dr. Alexander was often heard to acknowledge himself to be under peculiar obligations. He gave his mind a wise direction, at a most important period, and inculcated habits of thought which were of unspeakable value in all after life. It is often supposed that a teacher of inferior talents and attainments is fully qualified to instruct youth in those rudiments of learning which they must master

before they can advance to studies of higher dignity. But an instrument so tender and impressible as a youthful human soul, should be touched with a skilful hand. The tones which are then awakened may continue their reverberations forever.

. When he was but seventeen years of age, the subject of our memoir was thrown upon his own resources. A tutorship in the family of a Virginia planter having been tendered to him, it was accepted. In this new position he had ample leisure for cultivating his mind and storing it with useful knowledge. Being obliged to give instruction in the classics to advanced students, it became necessary for him to review his school studies and to acquire critical habits, which he had not previously formed. It was to the necessity thus imposed upon him, that he ascribed that familiarity with the Latin language for which he was afterwards so remarkable.

In the family of Gen. Posey, his employer, the young preceptor became acquainted with a Mrs. Tyler, a pious lady, who was a member of the Baptist church. This lady appears to have taken a very deep interest in the spiritual condition of the young tutor, and to have held repeated conversations with him on religious subjects. The biographer, with his accustomed candor, does ample justice to the influence which this lady exerted upon his father. It is probable that she was the instrument employed by Providence in arresting the attention of the young teacher, and in fixing his mind on those great truths which subsequently led him to the Cross of Christ. Among other expedients to which she resorted for drawing his mind to serious reflection, she was in the habit of requesting him to read aloud religious books for her benefit. On one of these occasions he was powerfully impressed by a sermon which he read from Flavel. Says the narrative :

The discourse was upon the patience, forbearance and kindness of the Lord Jesus Christ to impenitent and obstinate sinners. As I proceeded to read aloud the truth took effect on my feelings, and every word I read seemed applicable to my own case. Before I finished the discourse, these emotions became too strong for restraint, and my voice began to falter. I laid down the book, rose hastily, and went out with a full heart, and hastened to my place of retirement. No sooner had I reached the spot than I dropped upon my knees, and attempted to pour out my feelings in

prayer; but I had not continued many minutes in this exercise before I was overwhelmed with a flood of joy. It was transport such as I had never known before, and seldom since. I have no recollection of any distinct views of Christ; but I was filled with a sense of the goodness and mercy of God; and this joy was accompanied with a full assurance that my state was happy, and that if I was then to die, I should go to Heaven. This ecstasy was too high to be lasting, but as it subsided, my feelings were calm and happy. It soon occurred to me, that possibly I had experienced the change called the new birth.

The emotions induced by reading this sermon, proved however, to be transient. For a few days, he tells us, that he guarded against everything which he knew to be wrong; "but in a short time, when the temptation presented itself, he transgressed as before." It was evident, notwithstanding, that the spirit of God was at work with him. His convictions returned from time to time, often with increased pungency. His mental exercises were protracted, and at times most painful. Once he had concluded that he could not possibly be saved, and that he must submit, as best he could to the righteous decision which condemned him to eternal death. It was not until several months had elapsed, and he had resigned his tutorship and returned home, that he obtained that view of Christ, as the Redeemer of sinners, by which he was enabled to look to him for salvation. As no part of the history of a good man is more important than that which records the great change by which he is made a new creature, we shall give in Dr. Alexander's own words a brief account of his conversion:

Mr. Mitchell began to enumerate the high privileges which I had enjoyed in my visit to Prince Edward, and said he hoped I had received abiding impressions from the many powerful sermons I had heard. I answered deliberately that what he had remarked about my privileges was very true; but that however great the means, they had proved of no avail to me: I had not yet in any degree experienced those convictions without which I could not expect to be saved, and that being now about to leave all these means, I had that day come to the conclusion that I should certainly be lost; that I knew it would be just, and that I had no one to blame but myself. To which he answered, that no certain degree of conviction was prescribed; that the only purpose which conviction could answer was to show us our need of Christ, "and this," added he, "you have." He then represented Christ as, an advocate before the throne of God, ready to undertake my cause, and able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him. A new view opened before me at this moment. I did feel that I needed a Saviour, and I knew that Christ, as an advocate was able to save me. This mere probability of salvation, after having given up all hope, was like the dawn of morning upon a dark

night; it was like life from the dead. These new views affected me exceedingly. I was like a man condemned to die, who is unexpectedly informed that there is a friend who can obtain a reprieve. I was unable to say anything. My tears prevented utterance.

The mental exercises of Dr. Alexander, in passing from death unto life, supply another illustration of the great difficulty which many persons experience in determining the time of their renewal. After the clear and satisfactory illumination just mentioned, we find the young convert again relapsing into such darkness and doubts as to induce him to question seriously whether he had been changed. In this vacillating state of mind he passed several months; sometimes almost rapturous in the manifestations of divine favor, and again oppressed with the most painful uncertainty as to his spiritual condition. Near the end of his life he believed that his conversion occurred when a tutor in the family of Gen. Posey. We have frequently met with persons who have suffered no little disquietude because they were unable to refer to any particular date as the period in which they experienced converting grace; whilst we have heard others confidently asserting their acceptance with God, on the ground of certain operations of which they were the subjects at particular seasons, and which, in their judgment, could have been no other than a divine work. Both of these classes may be in error. The apprehensions of the first are unnecessary, if they have reason for believing that now, as penitent sinners, they rely upon the righteousness of Christ and are diligently following true holiness; the confidence of the latter is presumptuous, unless they are daily "bringing forth fruits meet for repentance." The best evidence that any one is born of the spirit, is derived from the fact that in his life he bears the fruits of the spirit.

Hardly had Mr. Alexander made a profession of his faith before he was called upon to pray and to exhort publicly. It was customary in those days to urge young converts, indiscriminately to take a conspicuous part in religious assemblies. Young and obscure persons were thus drawn into public view with the intention, it was said, of committing them more decidedly to a religious life. But the ill effects of such a course were often apparent. Many became puffed up,

and subsequently fell away. Inflated with vanity, they were seeking the praise of men rather than the praise of God.

It was the design of Mr. Alexander, shortly after making a profession of his faith, to enter Princeton College. The requisite preparations were completed, and he was about leaving home for this purpose when, under the advice of an influential friend, his plans were changed. His delay seemed to be providential; for on the very day succeeding that on which he proposed to leave home, he was prostrated with a fever, which confined him in great suffering and peril for several weeks. His case for a time was pronounced desperate; but God had a work for him to do, and he was raised from the bed of sickness. Having recruited his health by a journey to the Springs of his native State, it became necessary for Mr. Alexander to choose some vocation to which his life should be devoted. He was fond of agricultural pursuits, and was strongly inclined to spend his days in the peaceful and salubrious employments of husbandry. But there were convictions upon his mind with regard to the ministry of which he could not divest himself. Friends, of whom he was in the habit of seeking counsel, earnestly urged upon his attention the duty of preaching the Gospel. The result was, that he directed his studies with a view to this work. Anxious to begin the study of theology with some method, he desired the direction of his former preceptor, the Rev. William Graham. The account of his interview with this original and powerful thinker is very striking. As we believe that the advice which it contains is quite pertinent to our own times, we shall quote the account, as recorded by the subject of the Memoir before us.

Accordingly I went to Mr. Graham, with a request that he would direct my studies. He smiled and said, "If you mean ever to be a theologian, you must come at it not by reading but by thinking." He then indicated the way of taking our opinions upon the authority of men, and of deciding questions by merely citing the judgments of this or that great theologian; repeating what he had just said, that I must learn to think for myself, and form my own opinions from the Bible. This conversation discouraged more than if he had told me to read half a dozen folios. For as to learning anything by my own thoughts, I had no idea of its practicability. But it did me more good than any directions or counsels I ever received. It threw me on my own resources, and led me to feel the necessity of disciplining my own thoughts and searching into the principles of things.

In the autumn of 1790, Mr. Alexander being then in the 19th year of his age, was induced to present himself to the Lexington Presbytery, as a candidate for the ministry. The Presbytery very cordially encouraged him to proceed with his studies: at the same time authorizing him according to the fashion of those days, to exercise his gifts as opportunity presented, before receiving the usual license which was granted to preachers. At the instance of his friend, Mr. Graham, his debut was made at a place called Kerr's Creek. Referring to this performance, he says:

Although I did not know a single word which I was to utter, I began with a rapidity and fluency equal to any I have enjoyed to this day. I was astonished at myself, and as I was young and small, the old people were not less astonished. From this time I exhorted at one place and another, several times every week. It was still a cross for me to hold forth at Lexington; and after efforts, unsatisfactory to myself, I often suffered keen anguish of spirit from various causes. At other times my heart was enlarged, my feelings were lively, so that I found delight in the utterance of the truth. At that time I seldom followed any premeditated train of thought; the words which I first spoke generally opened a track for me, which I pursued.

It is interesting to read in his own language this description of the earliest efforts of a man who subsequently became one of the most eminent pulpit-orators of America. Whilst we are far from holding up for imitation the example of one who "seldom followed any premeditated train of thought," and who depended upon the first words which he uttered to suggest those which were to succeed, we would also dissuade from an opposite extreme which forbids the utterance of any thought which has not first been diligently studied, and then embodied in the most precise and finished terms which the writer can command. Discourses of the former class may be diffuse and desultory, but gushing forth in all their freshness from the depths of the spirit they will often produce the deepest impressions where more polished rhetoric would have fallen powerless on the audience.

Having passed a few probationary months as an exhorter, Mr. Alexander was invited to preach before the Presbytery with a view to a license. His performances were quite satisfactory, and a license was accorded. Being now invested more fully with the ministerial prerogative, he thought it necessary to be

more careful in the preparation of his discourses. Preaching on one occasion at Charleston, with his notes lying upon the Bible before him, a puff of wind suddenly carried his manuscript into the midst of his congregation. He was so much mortified by the occurrence that he determined at the time to take no more paper with him into the pulpit; and to this resolution he adhered most strictly for twenty years.

From the date of his license, Mr. Alexander was a most laborious and successful preacher. During a greater portion of the time for several years, he was engaged as an itinerant minister to the destitute sections of Virginia. There being very few ministers in the country at the time, and still fewer of those who could be deemed evangelical, our young preacher performed very extensive circuits. It would be impossible to estimate the good which he was the means of accomplishing in these journeys. Crowds hung upon his burning words, wherever he went; seals of his ministry were apparent in many places; everywhere God's people were edified and comforted and the impenitent converted to Christ. To uncommon natural endowments for an orator, Divine grace had added a heart glowing with love to the Saviour and to the souls of men. The discipline to which he was necessarily subjected in his missionary tours was admirably adapted to develope those endowments which he had received both from nature and from grace. Appearing constantly before new congregations who assembled from various parts of the country, eager to hear what the youthful evangelist might say; stimulated by the decided and uniform success which appeared to follow every sermon; preaching sometimes in the open air, and sometimes in the rude church; sometimes in the town and again in the most sequestered retreats, he enjoyed very uncommon advantages for increasing his zeal as a Christian and his power as an orator. Rev. Dr. Hall, in a sermon on the death of Dr. Alexander, speaking of these circumstances of his early ministry, says:

It deserves to be noted by all ministers and candidates, that one of the chief external means by which Dr. Alexander attained what are often called his inimitable excellencies as a preacher, was his spending several years after license and ordination in itinerant missionary service, preaching in the humblest and most destitute places, often in the open air, and

adapting his language and manner to minds that needed the plainest kind of instruction. It will be a good day for the ministry and the church, when the performance of such a term of itinerant service shall be exacted as a part of the trials of every probationer before ordination.

We have in the memoir an interesting account of the manner in which the preacher made his preparations for these occasions. Although he eschewed notes, he did not as in the first instance of public exhortation, depend upon such thoughts as occurred without premeditation.

Some of the sermons which I most frequently preached during my ministry I studied out this winter, without putting pen to paper. Indeed I had no opportunity to write sermons. The houses in which I lodged had but one sitting-room, and I remained but a short time at any one place. The necessity of thus composing in the evening and morning where I lodged, or as I rode along the way, proved a good discipline, as it accustomed me to close thinking and to going over and over the same train of thought.

We are aware that it is very fashionable at the present day to decry the use of notes in the pulpit and to insist upon extempore discourse. Some good brethren have ascribed the low state of piety in the churches and the comparative inefficiency of the ministry to the practice of reading sermons. Much that we hear upon this topic is mere declamation. An eminent minister being asked which method preachers should employ, replied that they should be able to use all known methods for communicating truth. There is sound wisdom in the remark. It is folly to prescribe any particular plan as the best for all. A minister should possess such command of his pen as to be able to commit his thoughts to writing with facility. Practice should enable him to read his manuscript with fluency and effect. When necessary, he should be able to deliver memoriter what he has carefully pondered in his mind or committed to paper—a practice adopted by some eminent ministers both in Europe and in our own country. As he is liable to be called on at short notice, he should also be in the habit of speaking after a premeditation more or less careful as circumstances permit. The man who writes much will find that the practice of composition increases his power for extempore speaking; whilst the custom of extempore speaking, by promoting readiness of expression, enables one to write with greater ease. "*Oratoris optimus magister stylus*

est," (we quote from memory) said Cicero; and the truth of his declaration is abundantly confirmed by experience. Whilst ministers who would be "workmen needing not to be ashamed," should be able to employ these various means for the delivery of their messages, let each one adopt as his common practice that method by which he can be most successful. As a general rule we would earnestly recommend the plan of merely mental preparation pursued by Dr. Alexander. It will be found true, ordinarily, that a man who has *thoroughly studied* his subject and depends upon the moment *not for his thoughts*, but for the mere structure of his sentences, will speak more effectively and with more interest to his hearers, than the man who comes before them merely to repeat what has been prepared in the closet. His style may be wanting in that precision and energy which would have been attained by the careful construction of each sentence, but his method will secure other excellencies which such construction might have impaired. But to many minds this seems to be very difficult if not impracticable. Had Dr. Chalmers been divorced from his paper, it is said that he would have been vastly more powerful as a preacher. We doubt it. Dr. Chalmers himself tried the experiment repeatedly and faithfully and could not be satisfied. Reading, as a general rule, was undoubtedly the method for him. Had Robert Hall been required to read such sermons as he published on *Modern Infidelity*, and the death of the Princess Charlotte, they might have been praised for their beautiful composition, but they would not have moved his hearers as when they fell in extempore language from his own warm heart and glowing imagination. Extempore preaching was surely his best method. In like manner we recommend to every preacher whilst cultivating every known method for the expression of thought, to pursue as his general habit that course by which his own experience tells him that he can convey the truth most forcibly to the minds of his hearers.

Having been ordained a short time subsequent to his license, Mr. Alexander accepted invitations from several churches in Virginia to become their spiritual guide. We say from "several churches," for it was then a common practice

in that country for a minister to have the charge of four congregations; giving to each church one Sabbath in the month, and riding during the week many miles in visiting the people and reaching his different appointments. This state of things though very undesirable, seems to have been unavoidable, owing to the deficiency of ministers and the sparseness of the population. The young preacher enjoyed the same success after his labors were confined to a few congregations, as when performing his missionary tours. Like President Davies, who had preceded him in the same kind of service, he attained an influence and usefulness as a preacher which was surpassed by no man in the State. About this period the Presidency of Hampden Sidney College having become vacant, the attention of the Trustees was directed to Mr. Alexander as a suitable man for the office. This institution was chartered in 1783, having been founded chiefly with a view of educating young men for the ministry. As the field now presented afforded a better opportunity for personal improvement, whilst it promised an extended sphere of usefulness, it was accepted. But the preacher was not merged in the instructor. Mr. Alexander continued to preach regularly to several churches in the neighborhood of the institution.

It was about the year 1799, during his Presidency of the College, that Mr. Alexander was "almost persuaded" to connect himself with a Baptist church. His exercises on this subject were most anxious and protracted; and we must be permitted to say that if the youthful President could have resisted the Scotch bias which he doubtless inherited in favor of Pedobaptist views, and could have brought to the investigation his accustomed candor, he would have been altogether persuaded to adopt and to practice the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity. The occasion of his difficulties upon the baptismal question is not mentioned. In the autobiography which he wrote when advanced in life, he remarks, when referring to this subject:

About this time, I fell into doubt respecting the authority of infant baptism. The origin of these doubts was in too rigid notions as to the purity of the Church, with a belief that receiving infants had a corrupting tendency. I communicated my doubts very freely to my friends, Mr. Lyle and Mr. Speece, and found that they had both been troubled by the same.

We talked much privately on the subject, and often conversed with others, in hope of getting some new light. At length, Mr. Lyle and I determined to give up the practice of baptizing infants until we should receive more light. This determination we publicly communicated to our people, and left them to take such measures as they deemed expedient; but they seemed willing to await the issue. We also communicated to the Presbytery the state of our minds, and left them to do what seemed good in the case; but as they believed we were sincerely desirous of arriving at the truth, they took no steps, and I believe made no record. Things remained in this posture for more than a year.

Here we have the record of the struggles of three pious and intelligent Presbyterian ministers on the subject of baptism. How can we explain these troubles? No controversy of which we are informed had occurred in which some able advocate of Baptist views had presented the subject in a new light. The only Baptist book (so far as we know), which they had been reading, was the Bible. And yet these three ministers, without a knowledge of each other's trials had all been perplexed on the same subject. Nor was it a temporary disturbance of their repose produced by some superficial cause and disappearing after a brief interval. The anxiety and suspense were protracted. "Things remained in this posture for more than a year." How strange, how almost impossible, that the minds of three persons, two of whom were among the most gifted and learned men which the Presbyterian Church in this country has produced, should have been simultaneously and without concert induced to doubt the soundness of Pedobaptist views, unless there were something in the sacred Scriptures calculated to awaken this suspicion in their minds. Nor are these extraordinary instances. We believe that there are multitudes of Pedobaptists at the present day, whose consciences are burdened on this subject. We are acquainted with not a few regular communicants in Pedobaptist churches, who constantly refuse to have their children baptized and whose refusal does not subject them to the censure of their churches. Scarcely a week passes which does not chronicle the renunciation of Methodism, Presbyterianism, or some other phase of Pedobaptist views, by a minister whose convictions of duty compel him to join a Baptist Church. If all those members of other denominations who sympathize with Bap-

tist views of the ordinances of the Gospel, believing them to be sound and scriptural, and believing with Mr. Alexander, that "receiving infants into the church has a corrupting tendency," should reduce their convictions to practice, the world would begin to think that the time was at hand when the Saviour's prayer for the unity of his people was about to be answered.

But how were our three ministers relieved from their difficulties? Of Mr. Lyle, the biographer says nothing. Mr. Speece was so fully persuaded of the correctness of Baptist views, that in the language of the memoir,

One Sunday morning he went to a Baptist meeting, held within two miles of the college, and without having given notice of his intention, was there re-baptized by immersion. On his return home, he seemed much satisfied with what he had done. The Church soon licensed him to preach, and he began to go about the country with his Baptist brethren.

We regret to add that Mr. Speece subsequently returned to his original connexion. The peace of conscience which he enjoyed after obeying Christ, might properly have been taken by him as evidence that he was in the path of duty, and might well have encouraged him to persevere in keeping those commandments which supplied so great reward. But why did not Mr. Alexander forsake a practice which he believed to be of corrupting tendency, and identify himself with those who were earnestly resisting this very practice? We have his answer in his own words:

Two considerations kept me back from joining the Baptists. The first was that the universal prevalence of infant baptism as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, was unaccountable on the supposition that no such practice existed in the times of the apostles. The other was that if the baptists are right, they are the only Christian Church on earth, and all other denominations are out of the visible church.

And is this all? We confess we read with surprise the statement that such considerations should have restrained an eminently good and great man from repudiating a dogma which is well described as "the pillar and ground of popery," and from connecting himself with the people who were earnestly contending for "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." If the prevalence of infant baptism in the fourth or fifth century be a conclusive evidence that

the practice existed in the apostolic churches, then every other corruption which disfigured the church in these centuries and which claimed to be derived from the Word of God, has the apostolic sanction and should now be practiced. And if the practice of the fourth and fifth centuries be apostolic why not the practices of the sixth and seventh or of the tenth and eleventh or of any century? Suppose Dr. Alexander had discovered that in the fourth and fifth centuries the doctrine of the Trinity was unknown, the doctrines of Faustus Socinus being universally received, or that the doctrine of the Restorationists was then generally held, would he on this account have concluded that the apostles were Socinians or Universalists? And yet, to act consistently with the first reason which restrained him from a church connexion with the Baptists, he would embrace these heretical views.

The second reason which he urges for not joining the Baptists is, in our view quite as unsatisfactory as the first. "If the Baptists are right, they are the only Christian church on earth, and all other denominations are out of the visible church." Now we think that if the Baptists are the only Christian church, this would have been an excellent reason why our inquirer should have identified himself with them. If they be the only church who observe the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity, award them all the honor to which such fidelity entitles them. But says our objector, "all other denominations are out of the visible church." Well! be it so. Is this impossible? Is the creed of the majority to be made the test of orthodoxy? Are we to conclude that the party in politics or in religion which is in the minority cannot be right? In the second term of Washington's administration, when France declared war against England, a large majority (perhaps nineteen-twentieths) of our citizens believed that we were bound by every consideration of gratitude to a former ally, as well as of just resentment against a former oppressor, to make common cause with France. But Washington dissenting utterly from the popular view, issued his proclamation enjoining the strictest neutrality. For this act, his great previous services could not save him from the

severest denunciations. His proclamation was called a royal edict, a high-handed usurpation of authority, and Mr. Genet, the French Minister, was encouraged by the people to set the message at defiance. Were Washington and the small party who acted with him necessarily wrong, because they were so decidedly in the minority? On the principle which kept Mr. Alexander out of the Baptist Church, Washington was wrong; but a few years convinced the whole country that he was wise in resisting the popular clamor. The remnant, (seven thousand men), who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were in the prophets' day, the only true people: all the rest were idolaters. The latter were greatly in the majority, but this should not have restrained one seeking the truth from joining the "remnant." The position of parties whether as to numbers, influence or standing, or any other question, should have no weight with us in determining our duty with regard to the ordinances of Jesus Christ. But does it necessarily follow, that if the Baptists are right, all other denominations are out of the "visible church." This depends very much on the meaning which we attach to the phrase. In one broad and comprehensive sense we claim and we love to claim a union with all who truly love the Lord Jesus Christ, and whose works of faith and zeal, however much we dissent from their views of church ordinances, prove them to be the people of God. We hail them as coadjutors in the service of Christ and as fellow candidates for the rewards of the pious. But what, after all, is this "visible church?" We should like to see a good definition of the phrase. It would be as difficult to produce one which would satisfy all parties, as it was to make terms for an "Evangelical alliance!" We entirely concur with a judicious writer,* in thinking it

Surprising that a clear head and warm heart, like Dr. Alexander's, should have been in this dangerous fog of a visible church. Any one who is resolutely bent on having a visible church in this world, that comprehends all the faithful, is on the high road to Romanism, at least in principle. Where a command of Christ is explicit, it is a poor resort to hide from it, behind this vague conception of a visible church.

* Rev. J. R. Kendrick, of Charleston, S. C.

Such were our author's reasons for not joining the Baptist church. When men of such acknowledged mental powers and earnest piety can urge no better considerations than these for not becoming Baptists, we surely have reason for feeling more than ever confirmed in our convictions that our principles are in accordance with the revealed word.

But let us follow our perplexed inquirer. For more than a year he has been in anxious doubt. By what process is he relieved at last? Let his own words tell us: "I determined to begin anew the examination of the subject, and to follow the evidence I might discover to whatever point it might lead me." Excellent determination! Worthy of the man and of the subject! But where did he begin this examination? Did he go to the "law and the testimony?" Did he first apply to that "Word which is truth," which is the only reliable "light to our path," and "which is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for *correction* and for *instruction in righteousness*." Surely this was the right place to begin. In the controversies held by Dr. Alexander, in later years with the Romanists and Prelatists, he began here. With this authority he should have begun now; and its decisions should have been conclusive. He should have begun and ended with Revelation. But this, we regret to say, was not his starting point. He says, "I began with the historical proofs of the early existence of this practice (infant baptism). At the beginning of the fifth century, infant baptism was undoubtedly universal!" Thus was he wrong in the commencement of his inquiries; and the premises not being legitimate it is not surprising that the conclusion should be incorrect. On this principle we should be under the necessity of subscribing sundry dogmas which have been long ago repudiated by the whole Protestant world.

But even in his historical investigations our inquirer was often confounded. Reaching the time of Tertullian, who flourished about the close of the second century, he finds a pious and learned Father denouncing infant baptism, and offering evidence to show that the innovation was just then introduced. Instead of receiving this testimony, he evades it by an argument very similar to that by which he was de-

tered from uniting with the Baptists; he could not think that Tertullian was right, and all the supporters of infant baptism were wrong. Following his investigations, he is at last plunged into the dark. The earliest Fathers are completely silent upon the subject. Having inquired of human testimony until it ceases to speak, what course does our inquirer next pursue? Is he now driven, from the utter absence of historical proofs, to turn from the traditions of men to the inspired fountain?

Here, says Dr. Alexander, I was brought to a stand; and though I had laid it down as a principle from which I would not depart, to receive no doctrine or practice for which there appeared no foundation in the Holy Scriptures. I had come to a state of mind, in which it appeared much more *probable* that it had its origin with the apostles, than that it had been privily brought in afterward. I was prepared to examine the Scriptures without any *bias against the doctrine*.

Can any one be surprised that our inquirer, having persuaded himself, by human testimony, of the "probability" that "infant baptism had its origin with the apostles," should find something in the Scriptures which he should interpret into a sanction of the rite? Precisely in the same way the Papist, whose church teaches him the doctrines of Transubstantiation and Purgatory, can discover these heresies in the sacred Scriptures. What is more common, when a man makes his creed from extraneous sources, and then applies to the Bible for some confirmation of his views, to find much which, in his judgment, is directly to the point. He who, with an unprepossessed mind, asks simply, "What do the Scriptures teach?" will ordinarily reach a very different result from him who searches the Bible in quest of something to sustain a cherished hypothesis. The advocate who consults his books solely for the purpose of ascertaining what the law is on any given subject, will be much more apt to place a faithful construction upon that law, than if he consulted the statutes in the hope of discovering something which might be propitious to the cause of his client. But, singularly enough, Dr. Alexander tells us, after having "reached a state of mind in which it appeared probable that infant baptism had its origin with the apostles," he then considers himself "prepared to examine the Scriptures, without any bias

against the doctrine." And is not a bias on one side just as unfavorable to the discovery of truth as a bias on the other? You have already told us (see autobiography on page 47), that you "had a strong predilection for the way in which you had been educated;" and was it not under the influence of this "strong predilection," that you were led to begin your inquiries where Rome begins her investigations, and might not your mind have been so much warped by this "strong predilection," and those patriotic testimonies, as to be in a condition very unfavorable for the examination of the inspired Word. In your 'Evidences of Christianity,' now open before me, you give some capital advice as to the method which men should pursue in learning their duty from the Scriptures. You tell us that every one should "come to the interpretation of the Scriptures with an unbiassed mind, and in the exercise of a sound judgment, and with the aid of those rules and helps which reason and experience suggest, to obtain the sense of the several parts of the document; and although this sense may contradict our preconceived opinions, or clash with our inclinations, we ought implicitly to receive it, and not by a refined ingenuity and labored critical process to extort a meaning that will suit our own notions. This is not to form our opinions by the word of God, but to cut down the sublime and mysterious doctrines of Revelation to the measure of our own narrow conceptions." To all of this we say, amen. Had you discarded all other evidence for infant baptism, save that which is found in the Bible, we think you would have concluded with some eminent Pedobaptists of the present day, that the practice is not found in the word of God.

Having thus persuaded himself of the legitimacy of infant baptism, and the manner of administering the ordinance, Dr. Alexander settles it by a very summary process. "As to the mode of baptism," he says, "I hold it to be a dispute about a very trivial matter." This is the state of mind in which his inquiries as to the just administration of one of Christ's ordinances was commenced. With such a beginning, we are not surprised that he should have reached a conclusion which was entirely agreeable to his early predilections." His introductory postulate is as illegitimate, when he discusses the

"mode," as when he considers the subjects of the ordinance. We are far, very far from deeming it a trivial matter, whether the injunctions of Jesus Christ are observed in accordance with his directions, or agreeably to human preference. We must hold that he only is baptized who complies with the command of Christ *as he gave that command*. Our charity is not large enough to recognize any application of water as baptism. We know of but one way. If our Presbyterian friends are correct in their practice, we, who are known as Baptists, have yet to comply with the command of the Saviour in regard to this ordinance. But what is the conclusion, when the premises are given that the dispute about the mode is "trivial?" "So far," he says, "is it from being true, that all baptisms mentioned in the New Testament, were by a total immersion of the body, it cannot be proved that this was the mode in a single instance." We are not, with the premises before us, at all surprised at the conclusion. Error begets error. He who takes a wrong path at the beginning will end much further from the truth than when he began. The editor of the memoir before us has not recorded the process by which this result was reached. He simply says in connection with the foregoing remark, "Here follows an argument on this head which would not fall within our plan." We are glad that the argument is suppressed, for we do not think that it could have added anything to the reputation of the illustrious deceased. Dr. Alexander, in the conclusion at which he arrives respecting the "mode of baptism," is as much at variance with the learned and pious men of his own denomination and of other Pedobaptist communities, as he is with the tenets of Baptist churches. Dr. Macknight, Dr. Wall, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Adam Clarke, Dr. Chalmers, together with Calvin and Luther and a host of others whose learning and piety have made them "burning and shining lights" in the church, all admit that the "prevalent style in the Apostles' days was by immersion," that "immersion was the ancient mode of baptism," &c., &c. Dr. Alexander joins issue with his own brethren. When conducting his investigations as to the subjects of baptism, historical testimony was deemed reliable; had he appealed to this testimony on the question of

the mode, he would have ascertained that not only in the "fourth and fifth centuries the practice (immersion) was universal" but that it continued to be the "prevalent style" for thirteen hundred years. The corruption of the ordinance of baptism both in its mode and subjects, sprang from the corruption of Popery. It was "*Papa*" who first taught that it was lawful *in some cases* to depart from the ordinance as prescribed in the word. Having believed that it might be lawful in some cases, men were prepared to believe that it might be lawful in any case. We have not space to examine as we could wish Dr. Alexander's position on this subject. Indeed it is unnecessary. In almost any one of the thousand pamphlets which the baptismal controversy has evoked, the reader may find a triumphant refutation.

In 1801 Mr. Alexander resigned the Presidency of the College, and the pastoral charge of the churches to which he had been ministering. His object was to extend his acquaintance by making a visit to the northern States. The scenes and incidents of this tour form a very interesting portion of the memoir before us. It is always entertaining and instructive to hear from an intelligent observer his impressions of persons and places which are new to him. It was on this journey that Mr. Alexander met that gifted lady who subsequently became his wife. Rev. Dr. Waddel, celebrated as the blind preacher of Wirt's British Spy, and the Rev. John Todd had each invited him to attend the communion of their church. The trivial circumstance that the upper road by Dr. Waddel's seemed to be better, decided him to accept his invitation instead of Mr. Todd's. Here while spending a day or two he was so much impressed with the appearance of Janetta Waddel, as well as with her daughter-like deportment towards her aged parent, that before he left the house an engagement of marriage had been formed between them. Proceeding on his journey he arrived at Philadelphia in time to be present at the session of the Presbyterian General Assembly which convened on the 21st of May, 1800. Here he made the acquaintance of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Green, Dr. McKnight, and the Rev. Samuel Miller, afterwards Dr. Miller, with whom he was so long associated at Princeton. From

Philadelphia he went to New York, thence into the New England States where he became acquainted with Drs. Strong, Hopkins, Patton, Emmons, and sundry other notable divines of that day. In Boston he met the Rev. Henry Kollock, who was afterwards settled in Savannah, Georgia, and was one of the most remarkable pulpit-orators of the country. He describes Mr. K. as "one of the most affectionate men he ever knew. His heart seemed to be forever overflowing with kind feelings." Speaking of the eagerness of the Bostonians to hear Mr. Kollock, he observes, "Poor Kollock was almost torn to pieces in the anxiety to secure his pulpit-services which was something new in Boston; for in composition and delivery he followed the French school, and having an impassioned manner he produced an extraordinary impression upon his audience." When in Boston he relates an amusing incident which befell him :

Dr. Morse took charge of me for the most part. He conducted me to the commencement and introduced me as the President of a College in Virginia. At my first arrival there was a laughable mistake about this Presidency. I had never intended to mention my connection with a college and I knew that Hampden Sidney was perfectly unknown. But Coffin had told Dr. Burnet that I had been President of Hampden Sidney, and Burnet in introducing me to Dr. Eckley, had written it Campden Sidney. This letter Dr. E. showed to Dr. Morse, and the American geographer was non-plused. He had never heard of the college. There was no way to clear up the difficulty but by applying to me. But by this the matter was little mended; for Dr. Morse in his geography had represented Hampden Sidney as nearly extinct. My honor as a President was not therefore very flattering. All titles of this sort, however, go for much in New England, and I was often placed before my seniors and betters.

Attending commencement at Dartmouth College, he made the acquaintance of the father of Daniel Webster, and heard the commencement speech of the latter. "Little dreaming of his future career in law, eloquence and statesmanship, he pronounced a discourse on the recent discoveries in Chemistry, especially those of Lavoisier then nearly made public."

Returning to Virginia, he married, resumed his duties as President of the College and as a minister of the Gospel. In the year 1806 there seemed to be considerable turbulence and insubordination among the students of the College. Whilst fretted by the restlessness of those whom he was obliged to govern, he received an invitation from a church in Philadel-

phia. He made a visit to this city, and then accepting the call of the church he took up his residence there. At this period his biographer thinks that he was in the zenith of his power as a preacher. His son says of him :

In subsequent years, and even to the close of his life, he recurred to these years of ministry in Virginia with fond emotion. They were connected with his most animating labors and most visible success. He never could cease to lament the loss of that peculiar warmth and cordiality which belonged to Southern Christians ; and he was often heard to say, that although he believed he had attained greater usefulness by his removal, he had sustained a great loss as to personal and social comfort. In all those things which attracted the observation of the public, these were his best days. An exuberant hilarity made his companionship delightful, as will be readily believed by those who remember the clear, loud laugh even of his later years. The circumstances in which he had grown up in his early ministry, among a number of active and inquiring minds, rendered controversy inevitable ; and we can recall the days in which debates on theological topics were carried to all the lengths of excitement, which are not inconsistent with good nature and Christian friendship. We regard the period we now bring to a close, as that in which, with regard to every important trait and faculty, his mind and character took their form. Wider range of knowledge, richer stores of experience, &c., he may have had with advancing years, but in whatsoever can attract in the man or impress in the preacher, he was just now at a point of culmination.

Dr. Alexander remained in Philadelphia about six years, growing constantly in the affections of his people, preaching, and performing pastoral labors with great success. During his residence here, he was repeatedly importuned to accept various important posts in different sections of the country. One of these was an invitation to the Presidency of the University of Georgia. Though the invitation was declined, Dr. Alexander's influence is felt in the institution to this day. The writer has very good reason for knowing that his invaluable work on the 'Evidences of Christianity' is the text book in which every graduate has been instructed for many years. By it, he being dead, is speaking most forcibly and most eloquently in behalf of Divine truth.

In 1812, when the Theological Seminary at Princeton was organized, all eyes were directed toward Dr. Alexander as the man for the post. The account of his election is so interesting that we subjoin a portion of it.

In the year 1812, the General Assembly, then in session in the city of Philadelphia, resolved to go into the election of a Professor. The Rev. Mr. Flinn, of Charleston, South Carolina, was Moderator. It was unanimously resolved to spend some time in prayer previously to the election,

and that not a single remark should be made by any member with reference to any candidate, before or after the balloting. Silently and prayerfully these guardians of the church began to prepare their votes. They felt the solemnity of the occasion, the importance of their trust. Not a word was spoken, not a whisper heard, as the teller passed around to collect the result. The votes were counted, the result declared, and the Rev. Dr. Alexander was pronounced elected. A venerable elder of the church in Philadelphia, of which Dr. Alexander was pastor, arose to speak; but his feelings choked utterance. How could he part with his beloved pastor? His tears flowed until he sat down in silence. The Rev. Dr. Miller arose and said, that he hoped the brother elected would not decline, however reluctant he might feel to accept; that if *he* had been selected by the voice of the church, however great the sacrifice, he would not dare refuse. Little did he dream that on the following year he should be called by the same voice to give up the attractions of the city, to devote his life to the labors of an instructor. The Rev. Mr. Flinn called on the Rev. Dr. Woodhull, of Monmouth, to follow in prayer. He declined. Two others were called on, and they declined, remarking that it was the Moderator's duty. He then addressed the Throne of Grace in such a manner, with such a strain of elevated devotion, that the members of the Assembly all remarked that he seemed almost inspired. Weeping and sobbing were heard throughout the house.

Entering upon the post which he had accepted at Princeton, Dr. Alexander addressed himself to his duties with that energy and industry which were so remarkably his characteristics. The number of students, though small at first, constantly increased; when, after a few years "the profiting appeared" of those who had enjoyed his instructions. The Seminary was soon filled up, exerting an influence which was commensurate with the power of the church under whose auspices it had been organized. His position at Princeton afforded him an opportunity for usefulness, superior in many respects to that which could have been commanded in any other position. In the knowledge which he imparted, the habits of thought and of study which he impressed, in the unaffected piety which he illustrated, in all that tends to adorn and to bless the human family, Dr. Alexander is living to-day in the hundreds of his pupils who are now dispersed in various parts of the world, and who are each wielding more or less of moral power. We occasionally hear insinuations thrown out, that Ministers would be more in the line of their duty in giving their exclusive attention to the preaching of the Word and to the performance of pastoral labor in some one congregation. This may be true, as a general rule. But it is not unfrequently the case that by taking

the control of minds who are to give tone to the piety and efficiency of the church, a minister may enlarge immeasurably the extent of his usefulness and influence. Who doubts that the distinguished man of whom we are now writing was the agent of an amount of good in the service of Jesus Christ, far greater than if he had spent his life in the pastoral care of the church of which he had charge in Philadelphia? A name no less respectable than Dr. Chalmers has expressed the opinion, that the chairs of our literary institutions should be filled by pious ministers of the Gospel.

A professorship, he says, (see *Memoirs*, vol. 2., p. 378) is a higher condition of usefulness than an ordinary parish. Some of you think that this holds true only of a theological professorship; but this is your mistake. There are many university subjects which, without being hurtfully transformed, admit of the very strongest impregnation of Christianity. Were there at this moment, fifty vacancies in the church and the same number of vacancies in our colleges, and fifty men to start into view equally rich in their qualifications for the one department and the other, some of you would be for sending them to the pulpits—I would be for sending them to the chairs. A christianized university, in respect of its professorships would be to me a mightier accession than a christianized country in respect of its parishes. And should there be a fountain out of which there emanated a thousand rills, it would be to the source that I should carry the salt of purification, and not to any of the streams which flow from it.

We are far from urging our brethren to enter indiscriminately upon all vacant chairs which may be accessible to them in colleges, or in seminaries, or in editor's studies. Their grand business is to "preach the Word;" for this they were called, and to this they have been ordained. But there are many instances in which ministers may render more efficient service in other positions. The education of our youth in literary institutions as well as in theological seminaries, should be in the hands of those who will, at the same time, teach the knowledge of God; and in no sphere is more piety, good sense and learning demanded, than in that of an editor who is preaching every week or every quarter to his thousands of patrons.

It is an instructive fact that Dr. Alexander's first work for the press did not appear until he had passed his half century. This was his book on the Evidences, which was published in 1823, in the hope of counteracting a sceptical spirit which was at that time prevalent among the young men of

Nassau Hall. This work was issued by the author when he was in the matured vigor of his extraordinary powers, and yet so modest was he, that it was sent forth, we are informed by his son, with trembling. The Evidences thus issued with apprehension, have proved to be one of the most popular and perhaps the most useful of all the author's productions. It has been extensively adopted as a text-book in many institutions of learning; while edition after edition is constantly needed to satisfy the demand for the work, both in England and the United States. The book is not so philosophical as Paley's, nor so modern (if we may use the phrase) as President Hopkins' and others which have appeared; but for simplicity and yet strength; comprehensiveness and yet brevity; profundity and yet lucidness, and for adaptation to usefulness to all classes—the untutored as well as the learned—it has no superior with which we are acquainted in this department. After the publication of the Evidences, Dr. Alexander gave much time to the preparation of works for the press; and, though beginning authorship at so late a period, he lived long enough to produce more than fifty publications, including his smaller works.

There was little at Princeton to break in upon the monotony of a Professor's life. Few positions are more unvarying in their daily routine of work than those of Instructors in Seminaries. The same perpetually recurring duties succeed each other month after month and year after year as successive classes come and depart. Without habits of watchful industry and application, the mind in *such* a situation is in danger of becoming stagnant, or at least of having its ideas circumscribed by a limited range of thought and of study. He was constantly engaged in enlarging the boundaries of his knowledge, in exploring new fields of theological inquiry, and in giving to the world the benefit of his acquisitions. Though he had probably reached his zenith as an effective pulpit orator when he went to Princeton, his progress in learning was marked and rapid, after circumstances afforded him favorable opportunities for reflection and study. He was especially careful in the keeping of his heart and directed no little of his attention to the maintenance and elevation of the

standard of piety in the hearts of his pupils. The Christian was never merged in the instructor; and while preparing the young men of the church for their sacred vocation, he seems never to have lost sight of the value of experimental godliness in those whose great business in life was to point sinners to the only refuge for the perishing. We have before us the points of his introductory lecture, delivered in the year 1819. It was on the 'Importance of vital piety and holy living, in all who aspire to the ministry of the Word.' In this connection he considers the following points:

"1. Live near to God, and seek to enjoy daily communion with the Father of your Spirits.

"2. Keep constantly in view the great end of that office which you seek; and let this stimulate you to exertion in all your preparatory studies.

"3. As students, maintain right feelings and conduct towards one another.

"4. Endeavor to attain and preserve tranquillity in your own souls."

This is a specimen of the manner in which he frequently spoke to the hearts and the consciences of his people.

For thirty-nine years, Dr. Alexander continued to discharge his duties in the Seminary; growing throughout this protracted period in the confidence and affection of the church with which he was connected and of the Christian world. In reviewing his life, there are some questions on which we have been compelled to differ from this excellent man; but notwithstanding these differences, we can join most cordially with the brethren of his own church in thanking God for having raised up such a noble advocate of the truth. We honor his memory. We have been profited, we trust, by his beautiful example of consistent piety; and we have been instructed and strengthened by his admirable defences of christianity; and we have been deeply moved by his eloquent exhortations. Peaceful and beautiful was the close of his extended life.

When approaching his end, he said to his wife, with great tenderness: "My dear, one of my last prayers will be, that you may have as serene and painless a departure as

mine.' Now I understand, as I never did before, what is meant by that promise, 'Thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.'"

ARTICLE V.—SIN AND REDEMPTION.

Sin and Redemption: A series of Sermons, to which is added an Oration on Moral Freedom. By D. N. SHELDON, D.D., Pastor of the Elm Street Baptist Church in Bath., Me. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman, 1856.

A BOOK which can wear these great names on its forehead is dignified by its subject aside from its contents, and at once arrests us. These are "the burdens of the Bible old," the master-ideas of Theology, the great facts of History. They suggest the questions—most serious, most profound—which have a personal and everlasting interest, not for the scholar only, but for the universal soul of man. In them we find more of man and more of God than in all sciences. Nor are they merely scientific; for, high and far reaching, they come closest to all that is most private in every human breast, and because they reach into the foundations and mysteries of life and being, is their interest unfailing. The Christian mind of centuries has tried to span them, to penetrate and draw out their contents; and still they remain, unexhausted, if not inexhaustible. Wherefore we welcome every serious, intelligent effort to eclaircise them. They are to be brought into the light of reason, into harmony with knowledge, to be grounded in human conviction and experience. And this is to be accomplished by the contributions of many and various minds; perhaps by diverse and even contradictory theories. For any human explanations at the least we must expect to be incomplete and tentative. No representation yet made can be considered ultimate and exhaustive. No creed is conclusive against possible amendment or enlargement. Truth is cleared sometimes by denial as well as affirmation; is eliminated in contest and contrast: between deficient statement and

excessive statement it has been established. This has been the process of evolution in Christian doctrine. Between the upper and nether millstone it has been ground. Pelagius and Augustine were the complements of each other, it took Arius as well as Athanasius to settle the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity. The partial or false theory necessitates, and often by reaction produces the more sufficient and true one. The truth which is questioned is the truth which is examined, and at last fortified. It is something to have settled what is *not* true; and that cannot be done till it is presented and tried, and thus found wanting. And so when all forms of statement have been tried, and the partial and false discovered and swept out of the way, truth will begin to lay its foundations and come up into the light. And thus the Christian doctrine works itself clear through this very process of contradictions and errors. It is enucleated, not by any single person or age, but as all try their hand upon it, and line after line is drawn and erased, till the fair countenance of Truth shines out at last glorious as her Master's on the mount of Transfiguration. Therefore not without interest we ask, what this book of Dr. Sheldon's has to offer for the elucidation of the great facts which have given it a name.

It has the air of confidence in its own conclusions. There is in the author very little of the distrustful spirit of the seeker. He finds much to deny, and his denials are in a decisive tone, as of a man that is sure of his ground. He is earnest, and his earnestness seems to be the sincerity of conviction. It is consistent with the whole doctrine of the book to enforce always personal responsibility, throwing sin and redemption alike back with awful weight upon the individual.

This is good, though with our conception of Christianity it is by no means *all* the impression which needs to be made, as by-and-by shall be apparent. The book fails, to a surprising extent, to see and acknowledge the real truth contained in every explanation or doctrine of the atonement which has for the time been accepted. It desiccates the poetic element which pervades the Bible and the highest Christian experience drawn from it. It hardly allows the unreflective, unanalyzing mind of common piety to retain the objective symbols into which

it pours its feeling and faith, and which have over the common mind a mightier and deeper because indefinite influence, unless they are explained and reduced to intellectual formulas, and thus vacated of real power. In general, it does not appreciate the truth and life which other minds and the Church Universal have found in the doctrines it denies. It cuts down beliefs, dear and vital to multitudes of pious souls, certainly with no great tenderness, and expects that "partisans in religion, the men of hereditary faith, and the adherents to old creeds and formulas, will, of course, find fault." But its spirit is not illiberal; it grants the freedom it asks; it asserts the sacred right of independence; and herein it has our cordial sympathy. For this we have a sort of natural kindness towards dissenters, and heretics. Though they will not agree with us, though they deny the Christian truth, still they testify against intellectual cowardice, they assert the paramount authority of the very truth they may have mistaken. Liberty has its perils, but for all that let every mind be free. For entire freedom of thought we hold to be not more the now acknowledged right of every man, than it is the highest honor we can pay the truth itself, and the surest guaranty of its safety and triumph. There is an intellectual as well as moral timidity which is always afraid that truth will not take care of itself; that it will die if it is left with nothing to make men believe it but itself. It needs no help alien to its own nature. And we need suffer no pusillanimous fears for it, as long as men are left free to seek it, and it has "the eternal years of God" for its existence and triumph.

With great earnestness, Dr. Sheldon maintains the rights of the free mind. He claims that the soul shall submit to nothing the reason and authority of which it does not itself see and acknowledge:

¹ Moral freedom is a power which is required to bow to no authority and to reverence no law except the law and the authority of which it is itself capable of recognizing the necessity.—(p. 325.)

Thus thrown back upon its own individuality, and virtually left to only such restraints as it imposes upon itself, it seems to us that "the free mind" needs something more of instruction in the conditions, the responsibilities and the dan-

gers of freedom. Though somewhat qualified, it seems to us there is a strong tendency; in the whole course of the book, as well as of the oration on moral freedom, towards an excessive individualism. Man is considered as active rather than receptive. He is separated from the humanity with which he is in organic relations, and contemplated as a simple, self-sufficient individual force by himself. But the fact is, no man is a unit; he is indissolubly linked into a vast system, whose forces, whose actions and reactions affect him as much as his own individuality. He is passive to a universe of forces. Great laws and causes work in all history and all life mightier than any man's will, deeper than any man's consciousness. Nature, when she serves him, is his master still. He cannot rub out day and night. Electricity, gravitation, hot, cold, moist and dry he uses; but it is only after their own stiff, unalterable nature, and they use him after all. And so in the higher world of humanity. Life is everywhere conditioned. It flows between banks not of our making. History is not an unlinked chain; it is a process of organic development. It is a stream, and all its drops run into to-day. The past is in this present instant, in each man of us, with compulsive and inevitable power. There is a collective man as well as individual man; humanity as well as you and I; and, therefore, unconditional independence is not a fact, if it is a right. To attempt it is a folly. The wise man has no silly affectation of beginning *de novo*, and accepting nothing which is not original and all his own. He does not break from the past, for he has learned that knowledge, like history, is a growth. As he finds language here when he is born, so he finds truth: both the growth of the collective mind that ever survives the individual. He is free to use both, and have nothing which he does not originate himself; but he can save his freedom, and yet have a larger originality, and a surer and further progress, and a richer possession, by jointing his mind to this universal mind, and proceeding from its conclusions. Truth is evolved, unfolded; it does not leap at once complete, as Minerva out of Jupiter's head, unbegotten, unbegetting. As the ancients said, she is the daughter of Time. Genera-

tions, and ages, and the whole human mind bring it forth; uncleaned, perhaps, and it is not for the individual mind to disown it. Take it, and wash it, and adopt it, for it will honor and serve you at last. In this very matter of theology, we say it is a perversion of all freedom, it is only a childish freedom, to ignore and disparage the beliefs and theologies of the church for eighteen centuries. Has the Christian mind of all these ages worked over these problems and produced no respectable, even in some sense, authoritative result? There is a truth which has linked all these centuries, all churches and regenerate souls in one, which has been always imbedded in Christian consciousness, held *semper et ubique*, answering in its universality to Cicero's grand eulogy on the Law of Nature,* a truth which the collective Christian mind has drawn out of the Bible. It has been the unwritten belief and spiritual life of the church; it has also been scientifically developed in confessions and theologies: the unwritten worth more than the written. It is granted that a desiccating process goes on, and will, so that these beliefs and theologies slough off their transient and sometimes ugly skins; but the substance of doctrine remains, and our religious life, and our theological opinion, must be very much conditioned by this past life and belief of the church. They must flow out of that. The individual mind needs something out of itself, some road to get into, that its freedom may not be utterly barren, as it wanders and loses itself on tracks where it would never venture if it kept in view what the human mind has attempted, and in some correspondence with the truth it has already found, and always held. The individual mind rectifies, as our German cousins say, orients (*orientiren*) itself, partially, by these conclusions of the general Christian mind, as ultimately by the objective Revelation in the Divine Word. And so in all things, "the free mind" is to learn its limitations and the conditions under which freedom is health and progress. It cannot cut the thread of connection with what has been, and is, without sacrificing what is worth

* Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia post hac, sed et omnes gentes et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna, et immutabilis continebit, unusque erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium Deus.

more than independence—freedom dissipating itself into boundless vagary and unproductiveness. It may fly towards the moon at “its own sweet will,” but the puffed balloon cannot fly out of the atmosphere, it will be blown by its winds; it is still held in the power of the earth it has for a time forsaken, and the aeronaut of reform, most free to fly in his air-lifted scheme must at last, come down to travel in the same train with the rest of the world, free to make it go faster and carry more if he can. And we could wish that Dr. Sheldon had tempered, what seems to us, the excessive individualism of his oration, by giving equal prominence to the other hemisphere of his subject, the necessary laws and responsibilities which environ “the free mind.”

But it is more than time for us to follow Dr. Sheldon from these outposts into his central doctrines of Sin and Redemption. We shall find, indeed, the same formative principle of doctrine at the centre as at the circumference. There is the same atomic theory of man; it is individualism still. Humanity is a collection of wills. Each will is independent; each soul falls by itself. Sin is an act, separate, incommunicable; character is in what man does, not what he is.

We will begin on the surface, with sin as a fact; for first it must be recognized and measured as a fact in human history and life. A feeble apprehension of its extent generally goes with a superficial theory of its nature. But where, with a clear perception of the dreadful evil of its nature in its solitary instances, there is a deep, even painful impression of the amount of moral evil in the world, there will be some corresponding depth of doctrine. Its quantity does not make or alter its quality. But certainly if it were exceptional, and not universal, this fact would at once necessitate serious amendments in the ordinary doctrine in regard to its origin, its consequences, and its remedy. We find in Dr. Sheldon's book the universality of sin admitted, but not very impressively asserted and enforced, as certainly is not necessary in order to meet any exigency in the author's doctrine. He says:

We believe in the universality of sin among such as have reached the age of moral accountableness, of independent moral action. We believe, not that they never perform any right actions, but that they frequently, and often quite habitually, perform wrong ones. On this point we have no doubt; we think it confirmed by Scripture, and by the results of all history and of all experience.—(p. 114.)

We look for some bolder expression of this fact, which shall show a spirit penetrated and saddened by the prevalence and ravage of this dread power of wrong in the world. Certainly we shall not unreasonably expect to find in the sermon on the Creation of Man in the Divine Image, that the opportunity will be seized to make practically impressive the contrast between what God made man and what man has made himself; between the universality of the Divine Likeness and the universality of sin, the blot and desecration of that Image. But we find only an inferential admission of the universal sinfulness, or rather an apologetic exclusion of it as impertinent to the subject in hand.—(p. 54.) And the sermon drops into an utterly feeble conclusion :

We remark finally, that all men need—not a Divine regeneration, but —“much and careful instruction!”

However, the fact is acknowledged, that all men sin. And it is a fact to be accounted for. It must shed light upon other and related facts. It is large enough to sustain some inferences in regard to its nature, its origin, its effects, and God's method of dealing with it. The Christian mind has ever persisted in reading back of the fact, to trace its roots in the individual nature, and in humanity. It has refused to cut the race up into fragments, to find the disease in each part, and yet judge that it could be in each separately and self-originated, without some common ground out of which it springs. It has said, there must be some abnormal predisposition to evil rather than good, that evil so uniformly appears, even at the very opening of man's moral consciousness. It has found sin in the world; but it has found the will coming into coincidence with tendencies to wrong which antedate it; first, in the individual nature, and second, in the organic connection of the individual with the race. And if to save human responsibility, it has denied a quality of *guilt* to that which pre-

cedes the act of the will, it has not been able to deny, and we see not how any man can deny these antecedent facts, in which we find a reasonable, and the only satisfactory explanation of the unintermitted occurrence of sin in every human life. The universality of sin is not, by any means, the only proof of a congenital defect, but it is unaccountable without it.*

Dr. Sheldon refuses any inference of constitutional disorder, or natural corruption from this fact of universal sin: if, indeed he would not deny it on any ground. After pronouncing the idea of original sin wholly imaginary, and the term as commonly used, nonsensical, he says:

If, however, any choose to maintain the existence, in the posterity of Adam, of an originally disordered constitution, while yet they allow that in this constitution there is nothing of the nature of sin, this is a point concerning which we neither affirm anything nor deny anything. We certainly know no sufficient reason for affirming such a disordered constitution. Within the limits, however, of freedom and of responsibility, we should be willing to admit a deterioration of the original nature, whenever it can be proved. But we think it no argument for such a deterioration that sin is universal among men. (pp. 124, 125, as also p. 114, *et seq.*)

He locates sin in the will; while all predisposing causes and tendencies sin-ward, which, if they begin outside the sphere of freedom and moral accountability, early come into it, accepted by the will, to become a fund of moral disease and poison. This latency of evil, these propensities to wrong whose roots run back beyond consciousness, beyond birth even, into we know not what past, he disavows any certainty of. Some presumption he finds against such defect and predisposition to wrong in favor of a nature perfectly adjusted at the start. —(p. 121.) But there seems to be something quite difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile, between free will and uncorrupt nature at the start, and the uniform, never-failing fall of each individual of the race into sin, even under the most favorable influences for virtue.† This defect and taint of nature, which may be in part acquired, but is also aboriginal, it seems to us, is a fact just as real and just as manifest as sin itself, in which in every human life it issues. It is a fact which no jealousy for the voluntariness of sin requires us to doubt, as it seems to have led our

* Cf. Müller's *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, II : 298, Edinburgh, 1853.

† Müller, II : 292.

author to do. The will, indeed, makes this dark force, which lies in our nature, sinful by adopting it and linking it, through itself, to moral law. But it did not create it. There it lay a dark potency of evil, which, as it breaks into life, the will does not resist, but takes for its own law. Sin is in the will still—that is true—but so are there currents towards wrong in every human nature, traceable as far back as we can go, against which the will, allying with it reason, conscience, and all energies of God's grace, ought to set itself. This also is true. This perverse quality in human nature manifests itself early, too early and too spontaneously, not to be inherent. It shows itself to observation in our consciousness. For, allowing Dr. Sheldon's plea for the perversities of childhood, as in the nerves and sensibilities, and therefore no sign of a nature in which wrong is already rooted, do we not see in childhood perversities of temper, hate, deceit, selfishness, which are not of the nerves but of the soul, and which differ from the same things in manhood only as the blossom and the apple—the one the beginning, the other the elongation of the same thing, only with a larger sphere and a further unfolding. Says Tholuck, "Let us not deceive ourselves by the narrowness and childishness of the sphere in which the heart of a child moves. That boy who snatches away the meal of his young companions, when he becomes a man, would seize on countries and trample on the rights of nations."* And then, when we go into consciousness, far back as we go, we never find the transition-point where purity ceases and wrong begins. For what Müller says of the will is true of the whole nature, voluntary and involuntary. "If there were at the very *porta* of our conscious existence, such an *individual sin-fall* as the stepping forth of the will out of a state of pure indecision into a sinful decision, as a subversion of the course of development which up to that point had been normal, this dark deed with the nightly shadow in which it envelopes our entire life, would form the irremovable background of our memory. But who is able to say definitely when, and how, he,

* Guido and Julius, p. 121. Boston, 1854.

for the first time, acted in contradiction to his awakening moral consciousness?" "Sin does not first of all *originate* in him, it only *steps forth*." *

And so we go back of consciousness and out of it, out of the individual, and it seems to us that this fact of moral perversity, a crook of the normal rectitude of nature, a potency for evil, native and anterior to conscious sin, in which it is developed and prolonged, is involved not only in the universality of sin and its spontaneous eruption as from a latent disease, but also in the continuity, solidarity of the race, its organic life, whether by natural generation or spiritual transmission, in virtue of which one generation runs into another, the sin of one becomes the sin of many: idolatries, sensualities, lies are posthumous and reproductive. Moral qualities, like any others, are inlaid in this organic life. Not the color of the Malay's skin alone, but his Malay temper descends. Physiologic qualities, language, which is both physical and spiritual, and far as we go into the inmost nature, all human qualities survive the individual, and continue and spread. The elements of character are transmissible, and all personal qualities, through this organic connection of man with man and generation with generation. Now, it seems to us, absurd to expect each creature to derive bare existence from its ancestry, from natures death-struck and out of all moral harmony, and yet take no color or taint of moral obliquity with it. Says Dr. Sheldon—(p. 119):

Whatever is propagated, begotten and born, is mere being or nature, never moral character, which results from moral action.

"Mere being or nature," without qualities, capacities, ineities† of good and evil, is absurd.

"Moral character results" from many causes prior to consent or choice, and among them the inherent and derived dispositions towards evil within as they concur with similar objective tendencies. In an honorable anxiety to vindicate the personal responsibility of each individual for his own sin (which is clear enough), it is not necessary to dismiss the facts which

* II., 77, 290.

† Innèité, Leroux Encyclopedie Nouvelle.

seem almost as clear of the moral damage humanity has suffered, and that her damaged nature reproduces itself. To conciliate pravity of nature with entire personal responsibility for individual character and sin, may not be easy; but relief is not to be found in saying with Dr. Sheldon

We certainly know no sufficient reason for affirming such a disordered constitution.*

He can by no means agree then with our author in his doctrine in regard to the connection between the fall of Adam and the moral condition of his posterity. Into his interpretation of Romans v. 12-19, we cannot and need not enter. As Olshausen says: "each man interprets it according to one of two theories which he holds—the dynamic or atomic."

Adam fell, and therefore in the very nature of things we begin at a moral disadvantage. We begin, not as he did, but on a lower plane, where he sunk. No nature is insulated from the race. The first moral development of each man is a wrong one, for it is in the line of the descent which Adam begun. "In Adam all die." In no unintelligible sense, we were in Adam. Adam "the old man" is in us, a corrupt part, an imminent "body of death." Consciousness, analogy, history, Scripture declare it.†

* Regeneration, by E. H. Sears, American Unitarian Association, Boston, 1853, pp. 13, 64. A book which read in connection with Dr. Sheldon's, rather confuses one's ideas of theological geography.

† The doctrine of original sin as taught by evangelical Protestants generally is a legitimate inference from the universality of actual transgression. But this is not the sole source of proof. The Scriptures are full of it and no fair interpretation can void the doctrine from the numerous passages we might adduce. Redemption too by Christ, and Regeneration by the spirit suppose it. These latter doctrines, as expressed in the symbols of Christ's churches must fall with original sin. The denial of this leads to the denial of them. If man has not lost original righteousness and inherited a tendency to evil we need no Christ—we need no Holy Ghost. Hence, as Dr. Sheldon denies original sin we are not surprised to hear him say,—“that all men need, not a Divine regeneration, but much and careful instruction.” Such denials and substitutes as these of the author under review, we cannot receive. They contradict our views of Scripture, our reason, our experience, the voice of God, people in all ages, and render null that which is our only solace. True, the doctrine of original sin is attended with difficulties: but not perhaps insuperable ones. Yet, if it were, the fact is too legible to be rejected. Our doctrine was developed by Augustine; but it is older than he. It is native in the Scriptures. It was held and taught by the “angelical Doctor” in the thirteenth century. It was the doctrine too, of the Reformers. Nor is it now, nor do we believe it ever will be, an exploded dogma. The following is the subscribed view of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle and others “Credimus quod peccatum originale sit nobis innatum, et ab Adamo in nos propagatum. Et quod sit tale peccatum, quod omnes homines damna-

It seems to us that Dr. Sheldon in refusing the extravaganzas,—as Coleridge calls them—of Dr. South and many other writers in regard to the exalted state and angelic faculties of our first parents has really reduced them very low, so that the fall is a very common and every-day affair. He says:

They began with nothing but their bare nature. They had in their own nature, in spite of its well-adjusted state, all that was needed to draw them into sin. pp. 64, 66.

But what is "bare nature?" It is "well-adjusted"—an *imperium* in which sense, reason and will have their right places and work harmoniously, and the tendency of the whole nature is right. Certainly it will require some force to shake it out of joint, and revolutionize its Divine adjustments.

But is it certain that Adam started with "bare nature," an undeveloped germ of infancy, cast out upon nature just as bare? Is it quite conceivable that there was *no* maturity of body and mind? The use of the senses, language, judgment, the power already developed of labor and self-sustenance, are there denied? or did he begin from "bare nature" and acquire them through years of experiment?

Again, is there any evidence that he fell at the start out of "bare nature," and not out of a life that had run on indefinitely in the course and habit of virtue?

And, again, is "bare nature" all? There was the Adamic nature, but did not a grand spiritual objective surround it, and flow in with unobstructed current of influence?

God was there in light and love; "a presence that could not be put by." And if He exerted no supernatural constraint, was there not in the natural dependence and communion of Adam's sinless condition, something to fortify his virtuous beginnings, and hold him from that fatal fall? But what followed the fall, into what condition was Adam brought? Already we have seen what has followed in the race. Neither in him or us, as Dr. Sheldon maintains, is there any es-

tioni obnoxios, faciat. Ita, quidem, ut nisi Jesum Christum nobis sua morte et vitasubvenisset, omnes homines propter originale peccatum damnati fuissent, nec in regnum Dei, et ad æternam felicitatem pervenire potuissent." The Augsburg confession on this point is "Peccatum originis habet privationem originalis justitiæ, et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animæ; unde non est privatio, sed quidam habitus corruptus." These are the views of Baptists in the present day.—Eds.

sential change, any numerical loss of faculty. He carried out of Paradise the capacities he carried in. Therefore he lost the Divine Image only as he broke its harmony. It lost its proportion, but not its parts. The flesh and the spirit, sense, reason, conscience, will remain; but the relation of each is so distorted, inverted, that God looking down into human nature, if he sees through the breaks and faults his Image, sees not his likeness, but often that of the demon.* Regeneration is not the insertion of any new substance. Indeed, as we have seen, a dark and heritable potency for evil lying in human nature, and getting the start in its moral development, so may there lie by its side the capability, the potency of redemption waiting for the touch of Divine Power to quicken it, and through it the whole soul "into newness of life?"

From the death in which the Bible sums the consequence of sin, our author eliminates that which is corporeal, and denies that the present law of mortality has any connection with sin. Against it he urges the immediacy of the penalty;† that all other physical conditions of their life were apparently the same as now; that it was implied in the very sentence of labor and sorrow for life, that life was limited; and that Christ did not come in an immortal body, or to save men from corporeal death,‡ and yet he strangely qualifies his doctrine in one sentence, by saying:

* In the text of the Second Sermon—"And God said, Let us make man in our own *image*, after our *likeness*," the Early Fathers maintained a distinction between *εἰκων* and *ὁμολωσις* for which see Synonyms of the New Testament, by R. C. French, p. 77.

† In accounting for the fall of Adam, Dr. Sheldon says, (p. 67.)

"A first sin would not necessarily draw after it a second, a third and others; but as it would involve a triumph of appetite and a weakening of conscience, and thus an impairing of the defence against future sins, these might easily follow."

On this ground *when* did Adam fall? Was not the fall in the will, in its *first* deflection from God? Did not *one* sin answer the ends of the trial, and show a will dissevered from God? Yet the author urges as against natural death being in the penalty, that the Divine veracity would be compromised if the sentence were not literally and instantaneously executed, and says: "There was a general truth in the original penalty, though individual in its form and application. This truth is, that every transgressor of Gods law *shall die, in the day and hour of his transgression*. His sin *at once* changes his condition, and so avenges itself upon him. A part of the punishment may be delayed; but the beginnings of it in the soul take their date from the sin."

The last sentence is not far different from the position our author so strongly impugns, that physical death *began* to take effect with the sin, and that the rest of life was mortal and a process towards death.

‡ Is there no sense in which Christ "abolished death?"

I contend only that sin did not introduce the law of corporeal dissolution, *or some corporeal change*, through which the soul mounts up to a higher life.

Surely "some corporeal change," equivalent to death, and yet nothing like it, was possible had man continued sinless. What would have been the order of life in the world without sin is, perhaps, quite outside of our knowledge. That life here would have been interminable is quite improbable. The presumption is altogether for a transition; that what is now accomplished by the violent methods of death and resurrection would take place without them. This was the doctrine of Anselm.* This was also the conception of Augustine, that "Adam was created mortal, but not liable to death," the body being spiritualized and glorified without any violent process.† "As the spirit chose, of its own accord, to forsake God, so must it now forsake the body also," instead of keeping it through all stages of its spiritualization. This essentially was the doctrine of Jeremy Taylor.‡ And it is an altogether natural presumption.

But, disallowing any such objective alteration in the form of death, and allowing, as we are not forced to do, that the law of all other animal natures applied to man, the head of the animals, and differenced from them by a spiritual nature, upright and deathless, and that he, like them, would have been remanded to dust had no sin intervened, the subjective difference is great enough to warrant our including natural death in the consequences of sin, if not in its penalty. Sin has made death to be death, and not transition and orderly development—the darkest, and worst, and last catastrophe of our outward life, as it is the emblem and the name of our direst spiritual calamity; so that literally and truly it can be said, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." "Dying, thou shalt *die*," was the original sentence of God against sin; and, therefore, we cannot join with Dr. Sheldon in ejecting natural death from the consequence, and hardly with Harris§ from the penalty of sin.

* *Cur Deus Homo?* cap. III, p. 90, Erlangen, 1834.

† Prof. Schaff, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 18, 226.

‡ Hitchcock's *Religion of Geology*, p. 95.]

§ *Man Primeval*, p. 178.

Other questions rise out of this part of the author's doctrine, but too short a space have we left for his theory of redemption. It is the complement of his doctrine of sin. It has the same radical defect; only here, in our way of conceiving Christianity, voiding redemption to a greater degree of what is vital in it. For, if it is the tendency and the distinct effect of Christianity to separate each soul into an unshared individuality, arraigning it by itself as a personal, responsible creature before God, this is only half of its doctrine or power; for its very purpose is not to dis sever, but to join. Its method is mediation, communion, participation, faith; not independence and self-culture. The fundamental idea of Christianity is mediation, and redemption through that.* It is literally and truly, as our author says, at-onement. But this is not in some outside and merely reconciling way. It is really and vitally union with God in Christ. Character, life, grow not out of some root in us, but out of us rooted in Christ, who is one with the Father. Christ *in* me, I *in* Him. This is the Christianity of the New Testament.

Now, the formative principle of this book is widely, if not totally, different. It nicely divides between objective and subjective, while, as matter of fact, they are one in the unity of life. It makes life and character individual, incommunicable, untransferable, untransmissible. No soul is saved except in virtue of what is in itself:

His righteousness was available for himself as a being made under law, and for no one else. This personal righteousness of the Saviour—and it is the only righteousness which he ever had or could have—can obviously never become the righteousness of any other being. Why should any one speak of himself as having his righteousness. (p. 169)? . . . We must not forget that salvation is always an internal fact. A man is not saved any further than he is made truly right or righteous; his salvation must be, in a word, himself purified and saved; his righteousness must be himself made righteous. There is, there can be, no other saving righteousness than this. (p. 171). . . You have seen how *utterly groundless* are the theories which represent the sins of men as imputed to Christ, and the righteousness of Christ as imputed to believers. (p. 182).

Now, we will not stick for words; words are temporal, ideas eternal. As poetry has said with the truth of philoso-

* Ullman's Essay on the Distinctive Character of Christianity in the Mystical Presence. By Dr. Nevin.

phy, "Words are men's daughters, but God's sons are things." There is an idea under these words, imputation, transfer, as under all the terms of the old theology, most real and true. Redemption comes by union with Christ, the Mediator. It is a union vital and organic, such as of vine and branch. Now, what does it imply? Instead of there being no such thing as communication, or transfer, or transmission of moral qualities, this is exactly the process of Christianity, renovation by reception of, participation in, assimilation to Christ,—draft upon his fulness. He is the entire objective element in the life of the Christian; and all life is the union of subject and object in one. Verses without number, and in all modes of figure and suggestion, and assertion, are summed in that one which is the substance of Christianity,—At that day ye shall know that I AM IN MY FATHER, AND YOU IN ME, AND I IN YOU. BECAUSE I LIVE, YE SHALL LIVE ALSO.

So that it is not so much imputation as identification. And thus we stand, not by ourselves, or on our own merits, but in Him, and with all the advantage there is in being in Him, and clothed with His righteousness, not our own; the advantage not alone of good already received and appropriated, but of the whole fund, the infinite, everlasting righteousness there is there, "that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." For he not only works holy effects in us by impartation, making us righteous: but by imputation also, or closer still by identification, we have the advantage for all moral purposes of that righteousness to which we are joined, and which constructively is ours, in virtue of our union to Him in whom it is. For there is not only Christ in us, vitally appropriated and incorporated into our spiritual feeling and character, but it is the complement of the objective Christ which is also ours. The two are one, and this is our refuge and our peace, our reliance and our rest.* And this too, in our view, is the guaranty of our

* Stung with conscious guilt, and the sword of injured justice drawn to smite us away from the heavenly kingdom, we are ready to sink in utter despair, when the bleeding Lamb of God arrests our attention. We look, and live. From the cross there comes over us a quickening power—a new element is imparted—life, eternal life, begins. We joyfully take Christ as our

purification and pardon, not in our wills and works, but that we may so utterly escape them, holding and possessing by faith a life and redeeming power, not of us, and yet ours, with which we become free of sin, its law, and its doom.

This makes the gospel a gospel for such as are weary and sore, broken in sin and helpless against it; for it gives them some objective power to which they can unite their souls in faith, and hanging them upon God in a Mediator, find in Him *their* wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. And thus would we assert this doctrine of imputation, which our author has thrown away, holding it as our union and identification with a Divine Mediator, in virtue of which we share and receive what is in Him, "faith being counted for righteousness," our being, and character, and privilege enlarged by junction with Him, finding in Him what can be

sacrificial offering, assured that He has taken us as His purchased possession. We throw ourselves forward upon His merits, as our only hope, and feel that He throws over us the spotless robe of His mysteriously wrought righteousness. "We love Him because He first loved us." Our justification is complete; our righteousness none can gainsay. We are now united to Christ as the branch to the vine. We live by faith in the Son of God. Here, and here alone, is the safety, the hope, the defence. The great Calvin has well remarked on the doctrine of imputation, "What is it to place our righteousness in the obedience of Christ, but to affirm that hereby only we are accounted righteous? because the obedience of Christ is imputed to us AS IF IT WERE OUR OWN."

President Edwards very justly says:

"I would explain what we mean by the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Sometimes the expression is taken by our divines in a larger sense for the imputation of all that Christ did and suffered for our redemption, whereby we are free from guilt, and stand righteous in the sight of God; and so implies the imputation both of Christ's satisfaction and obedience. But here I intend it in a stricter sense, for the imputation of that righteousness or moral goodness that comes by the obedience of Christ. And by that righteousness being imputed to us is meant no other than this, that that righteousness of Christ is accepted for us, and admitted, instead of that perfect inherent righteousness that ought to be in ourselves. Christ's perfect obedience shall be reckoned to our account, so that we shall have the benefit of it, as though we had performed it ourselves; and so we suppose that a title to eternal life is given to us as the reward of this righteousness. The Scripture uses the word *impute* in this sense, viz., for reckoning anything belonging to any person to another person's account, as, Philemon, 18, 'If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account.' In the original it is *τοῦτο μοί εἰλογεῖ*—*impute that to me*. It is a word of the same root with that which is translated *impute*. Rom. iv., 6, 'To whom God imputeth righteousness without works.' And it is the very same word that is used in Rom. v., 13, that is translated *impute*. 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law.'"—Edward's Works, London Edition, Vol. 1, p. 635.—Ebs.

in us only from Him, the peace of our disturbance, the law and rectifying force of our wills, the reversal of our doom. And such doctrine we would show to have its analogy in all nature and life, only that the inexorable Atropos of the press waits to cut the lengthened thread of our discourse.

We turn, with entirely inadequate space left, to the other side, where Christ is "made to be sin for us." Dr. Sheldon refuses all theories of transfer, whether of guilt or punishment, or equivalent sufferings, or of governmental expedients for satisfying public justice, and offers for his own, that Christ was made sin by being brought into connection with it, by suffering opposition and death from sinners, adding thereto, seemingly, as an after-thought (p. 175), his loving and intimate sympathy with men in this condition, with the possibility that he may have also "achieved an important work in the spiritual world between his death and his resurrection;" all this working its effect in men, and producing repentance unto life.

Between the current scheme of Christ as offering satisfaction to public justice, as a governmental expedient to save the law in the sight of angels and distant worlds, and our author's we should prefer to err by excess rather than by deficiency, and take the first. That certainly is founded on a true idea. There is a moral order which is broken by sin, and it is joined again, and healed by the blood of the cross. But that infracted order is not in the air, or some supernal realm; it is in souls. There it has been broken, and there it must be restored. The confusion in this matter of atonement arises from looking at it in the light of civil law. The analogies do not hold. Rather do we find analogies in God's laws in nature, than in man's laws in society. Moral government is in souls. Nowhere else could the moral order be broken, and there it must be reinstated and its authority confirmed. The repair must be where the break is, and that is nowhere else than in the soul, where law has been violated and forgiveness must go.*

* The atonement is not merely subjective. It is objective too; and objective *first*. The justice of God needed to be satisfied: his law, broken in man, honored. This has been accomplished by the death of Christ. The term "satisfaction" is old as Tertullian: the idea, ancient almost as time. This was the the-

There, and there only, in the hearts of its subjects could Christ affect law and government by his blood. And there he did reach them, through the efforts wrought in the nature where they had been desecrated, and against which they set their penalties. For, by his sacrifice, he reinstates the law in the soul with an authority more venerable and awful than all penalties could give; and does this in the very fact or grant of forgiveness. His sufferings add somewhat to the law, which joining with it, re-establish and re-consecrate its violated majesty,* so that in fact he has reached the law as well as the souls where it had suffered violence, and where it was reacting with equal violence to break the sinner's peace, and cut off every hope that went forth towards a world to come. And thus the sinner is absolved, and yet God's moral rule secured, and rescued from all the peril to its authority which such absolution might otherwise induce. Remission of sin does not come as license; rather coming through his precious, unspeakable sacrifice in grim Golgotha of the Anointed Immanuel, it reconsecrates the law and protects it with all the sanctity of that divine life which went out in blood "that God might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus." We see Jesus coming out of the bosom of the Father, into the world of sense and history, coming under its burdens, oppositions, malignities, that through that he might enter the world of souls, the inmost life and heart of man, to create there a

ology of the Fathers of the first two centuries—of the Schoolmen—of the Reformers and of Rome. It is the theology of the Scriptures; and has been the cherished belief of God's people in all ages. Atonement by sacrifice; the sacrifice of Christ, an offering to offended justice is the creed of all evangelical churches. And this has been the support and ground of hope to the burdened sinner as he has gauged the justice and the law of God and read the promise made to Faith. The design of the atonement is not governmental merely; nor does it find its purpose in the production simply of a subjective change in man. "The action of the atonement was GODWARD first, MANWARD next, and GODWARD afterwards again. Like all grace *beginning in heaven* and then after its work on earth *returning again to heaven*."—Eds.

* The work of Christ and the work of the Spirit must not be confounded. Christ has satisfied the justice of God and made honorable the law. But no effect would be wrought in the hardened heart of man were it not for the presence and influence of that blessed and ineffable agent, the third person of the Trinity. He regenerates and sanctifies souls. "He writes anew the law upon the fleshly tablet of the heart." It is the error of the Romanist to confuse justification and sanctification. They are distinct. Justification comes first, by faith in Christ's merits, and is instantaneous and complete. Sanctification follows necessarily and inevitably a progressive work begun and continued by the Holy Ghost.—Eds.

feeling and a faith which shall see the law supplemented in his sacrifice, his blood healing its wounded honor.

So much at least we find of truth in this theory,* and more we might bring out; all of which, as far as we can see, our author has left out of his doctrine of Redemption—and, it seems to us, a vital loss. Law, government, justice—these must be reclaimed to have their power over our alienated wills, to go with the society and love, which, without the dread testimony of Christ's blood, would soften and quite melt away their authority over the soul too averse to God, too thirsty for wrong. If any one ask us to go with this scheme of a governmental atonement out beyond the stars, to see Christ through his cross reaching the angels to reassure them lest they should begin to find encouragement to sin by seeing it too readily forgiven; we can only let him go. But that to us does not seem to be the main purpose of the atonement. We believe that in it God was seeking to bring back an alienated and self seeking race to himself; that he saw that in this way, through his son and by his sacrifice, he could win to Himself by forgiveness what he could not hold by law; that so long as his love went forth into the human heart through such a vent of suffering in such a person as his Son, all that his just laws and established moral order suffered in the eyes of sinners would be more than made up in the reverence and obedient love which would come back to them, and to Him by means of the cross: that, therefore, and for reasons inscrutable to us, though never for absurd or contradictory ones, "He made Him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

We must leave Dr. Sheldon's doctrine and his book at many points untouched; points where perhaps some will grieve as at a grave, and some will find a speculative quarrel; interpretations of Scripture and questions of Philosophy, and statements of doctrine.

We leave them, feeling that there is something which is not here; such as souls weary and sore and broken under sin want.

* The Governmental, not Dr. Sheldon's.

[It is with feelings of regret that we have felt obliged to introduce in our pages, an article uttering its loud and solemn and earnest protest against errors and such errors and at such a source. On the points of deepest interest to man, Dr. Sheldon is found to hold views radically unsound and unsafe. He denies original sin and imputed righteousness, and holds views to which all evangelical churches are opposed. His theology is far from being that of inspired men. "He has not retained in his doctrine of Redemption much which is expressed in the manifold symbols of the Scriptures, and which gives the Gospel its comforting and yet sanctifying power." The experience and belief of the people of God of all ages are virtually denied: and, in their stead, we have given us a rationalistic theory not new but an old one revived, which has been again and again met and exploded. His doctrine cannot satisfy the weary, heavy-laden sinner. "Professing to pare off the bark of human theory he has girdled the tree of the Lord's planting; and left—far as man's theory could kill it—the tree of Redeeming life blasted." Such doctrine cannot long find a response in human souls. It belies experience, is inadequate to our wants, and cannot stand the test of Scripture.

Since Dr. Sheldon holds such views, we are not sorry he has published them to the world. It will awaken thought—lead us to flee to and prize the truth of God more highly, and by provoking replies be a means perhaps of arresting a tide of error. The day of such opinions cannot but be short. The old theology has been too long intrenched in human thought, too sacredly enshrined in Christian hearts, and too powerfully illustrated by shining lights of many ages, to be easily moved.—EDS.]

THE HISTORY AND DESTINY OF COAL.

Mineral coal is now rapidly finding its way into every part of our own country and of the world. Its importance as an agent of human progress is daily becoming more apparent. We deem it fitting therefore to draw attention to the past history and the present influence of this fuel, and to the glimpses which the subject gives us of the future of our own country and of the world; of the future of our country in its connection with the future of the world.

At the present day it is impossible to determine the persons that first used mineral coal for fuel, or the age in which they lived. It is said, indeed, that the early Britons were accustomed to use it, probably long before the Roman conquest. In proof of this, reference is made to certain stone hammers and hatchets, found in some mines in Yorkshire. The proof, however, is by no means conclusive. It is probable that it was not used until nearly the commencement of the Christian era. Mr. Bruce, a clergyman of Newcastle upon Tyne, has traced the famous wall of Hadrian through its whole extent and thinks that he has discovered conclusive evidence of the use of coal by the Romans, possibly in the early part of the second century. We give his statement:

In nearly all of the stations of the line, the ashes of mineral coal have been found; and in some a store of unconsumed coal has been met with, which, though intended to give warmth to the primeval occupants of the isthmus, has been burnt in the grates of the modern English. In several places the sources of the coal can be pointed out; but the most extensive workings that I have heard of, are in the neighborhood of Grindon Lough, near Sewisigshields. Not long ago a shaft was sunk with the view of procuring the coal which was supposed to be beneath the surface. The projector soon found, that, though coal had been there, it was all removed. The ancient working stretched beneath the bed of the lake.

But the amount of coal consumed at that early day was probably not very large. And possibly the consumption ceased almost entirely when the Romans finally left the island, A. D. 411. Even as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find indications that it had not yet come

to be generally considered as one of the necessities of life. Newcastle-upon-Tyne at the close of the thirteenth century, was accustomed to use coal and to furnish it in small quantities to its immediate neighbors. About the year 1350, it was first introduced into London. It was mainly employed by manufacturers who were not at that time very numerous, nor possessed of great influence. The people of London, in general were sorely displeased with the fuel, and earnestly besought King Edward to banish it. The smoke was supposed to be prejudicial to health and was known to be by no means conducive to cleanliness. The King was fain to listen to their prayer, and the fuel was proscribed. Yet what could such proscriptions avail! The era of coal had begun and the opposition of kings and subjects could do no more than to stay for a brief season the day of its power. Notwithstanding the opposition, which from time to time arose, before the time of Charles I., (1625), the use of coal for fuel had become a necessity, and the worthy people of London were compelled to submit to all its accompanying smoke.

The cause of this necessity will be found in the growing manufactures of England; especially in the increasing manufacture of iron. Iron had been made in Britain for some centuries before the Christian era; some say for five or six hundred years previous. The manufacture was increased after the Roman conquest and continued until the departure of the conquerors, A.D. 411. From this time until the Norman conquest, A.D. 1066, it seems to have received very little attention; though some of the vast beds of cinder found in the forest of Dean, in Monmouthshire, are called *Danes' Cinders*, from the idea that they were made by the Danes during their residence on the island. But from the time of the Norman conquest, the production gradually increased. The increase, however, was very slow, for at the time when Edward III., at the request of the people of London, banished coal from the city, he also enacted a law forbidding the export of iron. The production at that date (1358), was not equal to the demand. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, large importations of implements of iron and steel, were made from Germany, Prussia and Spain. And it is a

fact worthy of note, that the manufacturers of England felt so deeply the necessity of protection for their rising iron trade, they were so deeply impressed with the evils of unrestricted importation, they feared so much a free foreign competition as to combine in earnest petitions to the House of Commons, not merely for a protective tariff, but for an absolute prohibition of certain articles. And in the time of Richard III., A.D. 1483, an act was passed entirely prohibiting the importation of knives, swords, tailors' shears, scissors, andirons, fire forks, gridirons, stock locks, keys, hinges, spurs, bits, stirrups, shoe buckles, iron wire, iron candlesticks, grates, chains and other things of like material.

It would seem that the trade flourished for a period subsequent to the enactment of the law; for in the year 1542, so great was the quantity of wood consumed in the smelting of iron (for wood charcoal was the only fuel used), and so great the consequent scarcity of that fuel, that a law was enacted forbidding the cutting down of any timber of the breadth of one foot at the stub for the purpose of making charcoal for the iron manufacture. This law applied to all places within fourteen miles of the sea, or of any navigable stream; except in the County of Sussex, and the Weald of Kent, and a few other places specified. In 1581, new restrictions were deemed necessary. Another act was passed limiting the erection of iron works because of the increasing scarcity of wood; "because" to us the language of the act "it [the supply of wood] doth daily decay and become scant, and will, in time to come, become much more scarce; by reason of which the prices are grown to be very great and unreasonable."

A new argument now has been found for the use of coal, and the citizens of London will soon be compelled to make a compromise between their love of neatness and their love of money. There will be plenty of coal in London by and by. The price of wood is becoming very great and unreasonable. There are anxious and sometimes angry expostulations at the wood wharves along the Thames. There are sage deliberations over mutton chops and pots of ale in London inns. There are grave discussions between the good man and his

wife, at home, about the enormousness of this particular item in their household expenses. Yes, and grave discussions in Parliament too; for only four years later we find another act passed prohibiting the erection of any new iron works, in Surrey, Kent and Sussex; and forbidding the use of timber of one foot square at the stub for any iron whatever. A new era is now opening for coal. It will come slowly on. But come it must. The industry of the world cannot be checked, and fuel must be secured for the making of iron. Without iron in larger and still larger quantities the bright prospects that are opening to the useful arts and manufactures can never be realized.

By these legislative enactments and by the causes which led to them, the attention of iron masters was called to the use of coal for the smelting of iron. At length, in 1619, after many unsuccessful attempts, the difficulty was overcome by Dud Dudley, a mere lad, fresh from Oxford University. He secured a patent from King James I., and for a few years went on amid great opposition and many difficulties making, as he says, "annually great store of iron, good and merchantable, and sold it at £12 per ton. I also made all sorts of cast-iron wares, as brewing-cisterns, pots, mortars, and better and cheaper than any yet were made in these nations with charcoal."

But the times of civil commotion which followed—the contest between Charles I. and his Parliament, the trial and execution of Charles, the overthrow of the Commonwealth—were not favorable to any steady progress in the mechanic arts. And in addition to this series of unfavorable circumstances, the use of coal in the iron trade had to encounter the jealousies and opposition of both master manufacturers and their men. So true is it, that men are generally very slow in their assent to great improvements in the arts, and that it requires much time to secure the full mastery over the natural agents made known to them. It can occasion no surprise, therefore, that more than one hundred years elapsed before coal came into general use in England for the smelting of iron. As a necessary consequence of the failure of one kind of fuel and the want of a proper substitute, the number of furnaces in the

kingdom diminished until in 1740, there were only 59 remaining not more than three-fourths of the former number. The sum total of their production was only 17,350 tons, an average for each furnace of about 29½ tons, or about 5½ tons per week. To meet the demand, which was vastly greater than the supply, large quantities during this period were imported from Russia and Sweden. In 1840, Mr. Jessop of the Butterly Iron Works, Derbyshire, reported to a committee of the House of Commons that the number of iron furnaces was 404, and the annual product 1,396,400 tons. He estimated the quantity of coal used in smelting at 4,877,000 tons, and the further quantity, for converting it into wrought iron, at 2,000,000; making a total of 6,877,400 tons of coal consumed in the product of pig and bar iron. Mr. Blackwell, a recent authority, himself a large producer of iron, estimates the production of England, Scotland, and Wales at 2,500,000 tons. The coal consumed in smelting would, according to the computation of Mr. Jessop above be 8,750,000, and for making bar iron 3,750,000; making the consumption of coal in 1850, for pig and bar iron amount to 12,500,000 tons. To smelt the same amount of iron, were charcoal used, it would require—on the average of 1½ tons of charcoal to a ton of metal—3,750,000 tons. The havoc made upon the woods and forests of the country by the annual production of 3,750,000 tons of charcoal would soon strip it of every stick of timber. It would be impossible for England to be what she now is without her beds of mineral coal.

The change in the locality of the iron manufacture in Great Britain in consequence of the change of fuel is worthy of note. The manufacture was formerly prosecuted in the forests of the South of England, and furnaces were found in abundance in Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Sussex, and Kent. But when the use of coal gave a new impulse to the trade, it rapidly concentrated around the great coal fields. At present South Wales, South Staffordshire and Scotland are the great iron producing regions. In 1850, South Wales produced 700,000, South Staffordshire 600,000, and Scotland 600,000 tons. The first draws its supplies from the great Welsh mines, the second from the Dudley coal fields, and the latter mainly

from the coal beds of East, West and Mid Lothians and Fife.

The annual consumption of coal in Great Britain is nearly 40,000,000 tons. This includes the amount used for the consumption of private families, for manufactures, steamboats and locomotives, and for the production of gas. The coal of England lights her darkness by night, diffuses comfort throughout her dwellings, bears her people rapidly from place to place, by land and water, and drives her myriad-armed machinery. In short, it is the coal of Great Britain that gives to her such a manufacturing ascendancy, and has secured to her the title of "the work-shop of the world." By this her vast industrial system has been called into being, and kept in vigorous motion. Shut up her coal mines and she would sink at once from her present position, to the rank of a third or fifth rate power in Europe.

In the United States, there has been a rapid increase in the consumption of coal, since the year 1823. In that year the amount of Lehigh coal consumed was only 2440 tons. The Schuylkill coal had not yet been brought into market. In 1825, 6500 tons were drawn from that source. In 1855, the product of all the anthracite mines was about six million tons. The bituminous coal of the United States is scattered so widely and worked in such a number of places that it is difficult to obtain any reliable statistics. It cannot, however be computed at less than 2,500,000 tons annually.

In other countries the increase in the consumption of coal has been very great. A few statistics will show how vast the coal trade has become. These estimates are for the year 1853.

Great Britain,	-	-	-	37,000,000
Belgium,	-	-	-	5,000,000
United States,	-	-	-	7,533,000
France,	-	-	-	4,200,000
Prussian States,	-	-	-	3,500,000
Austrian States,	-	-	-	700,000
Spain,	-	-	-	550,000
Total				58,483,000

Here, then, we have the annual consumption of coal in the world. This enormous mass would furnish all the vessels of the United States—whether engaged in the navigation of the ocean, of our lakes, or our rivers—with cargoes. Or, if we suppose it to be placed in cars such as are used for its transportation, it would make a line sufficiently long to girdle twice the globe.

And the whole of this trade has developed itself within the brief period of about 300 years. The coal trade of the entire world at the time when the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, would bear no comparison with the trade of one small county in Pennsylvania in the year 1855. Indeed, the true point from which to date the history of coal is that age when this fuel first came to be successfully used in the manufacture of iron, and when the steam engine—that gigantic herald of progress—awoke the spirit of invention and enterprise to unwonted and almost superhuman activity. Each year of late has witnessed new applications of machinery; and each new application of machinery has served to increase the demand for coal. Thus the way has been prepared for still other applications, and still larger demands. If the consumption of coal continues to increase at the present rate, the commencement of the twentieth century will witness an annual demand for 300,000,000 tons. And we may confidently look for a continual increase in the demand—an increase more nearly approximating to a geometrical than an arithmetical ratio. The age of steam has merely commenced. It were vain to speculate as to the number of ocean and river steamers, of stationary and locomotive engines that will be in operation on the first day of the next century. It is very probable that the number will exceed any calculations that would now be deemed reasonable. The supply of coal in the world must needs be large to meet the great present, and the vastly greater future, demands to be made.

In order to judge of the supply of coal, let us glance at the various localities in which the rich mineral deposit is found, and notice the extent of territory over which it spreads.

In the United States there are four main coal beds. One of them commences in the northern part of Pennsylvania, and

sweeping southward over western Virginia, and eastern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, terminates toward the central part of Alabama. It is estimated that this immense bed covers an area of 63,000 square miles, a space greater in extent than the whole of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. A second bed lies along the eastern side of the Mississippi River, embracing Illinois, and a part of Indiana and Kentucky. A third is found in Michigan. A fourth in Iowa and Missouri. Of the extent of the latter coal bed some idea may be formed from the explorations of D.D. Owen, Esq., U. S. Geologist. "Of this coal field," he says, (in Iowa alone, not including its extension south into Missouri) "the dimensions are as follows: Its average width from east to west is less than two hundred miles; its greatest length from north to south about one hundred and forty miles; its contents about 25,000 square miles." It extends into Missouri, covering in that State an area of nearly 20,000 square miles. Smaller deposits of coal have been found also in other portions of the United States, and it is probable that further geological surveys will bring to light still other beds of the mineral. If our present statistics can be relied on, the coal fields of the United States cover an area of about 150,000 square miles.

Deposits of coal are also found in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; France, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, Northern Italy, Spain, Russia, Persia, Hindostan, Assam, and China. It is found in the islands of Japan, Formosa, Borneo, some of the Philippines, Sumatra; in New Holland, New Zealand, Kerguelen's Land, and the Galapagos; in Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, and at the Straits of Magellan. It will be evident from this hasty glance, that it is scarcely possible to pass more than three thousand miles, in any direction, across the face of the globe without meeting with it. It is dotted here and there on the great continents and on the islands of the sea. We find it in all climates and all situations; far up in Melville Island in the Arctic Ocean; in Borneo, Sumatra and the Galapagos on the very equator, and far south at the Straits of Magellan and Kerguelen's Land. And when that great Southern continent in the Antarctic Ocean, which has

been touched but not explored; when that *Ultima Thule* comes to be scanned by the geologist's keen eye, no doubt, even there, he will find, amid its frost-bound hills and valleys, vast beds of coal, to make a residence therein tolerable if not actually pleasant.

He who will take the map of the world, and mark down the coal deposits that have already been discovered, and ponder well the subject, will not find it easy to draw the conclusion that they have been thrown, hither and thither, at random, by mere blind chance. They seem, rather, to have been scattered by the hand of the Creator with very judicious care, as precious seed, which, though buried long, was destined to spring up at last, and bring forth a glorious harvest.

We come now to notice the relative amount of coal stored up in different countries, and to ask what inferences we are justified in drawing from the manner of its distribution. It is not possible to present very accurate statistics; yet they will no doubt be found sufficiently accurate for our purposes.*

United States,	-	-	-	-	133,132
British America,	-	-	-	-	18,000
Great Britain,	-	-	-	-	11,859
Spain,	-	-	-	-	3,408
France,	-	-	-	-	1,719
Belgium,	-	-	-	-	518
Total,					168,636

In the whole world there is probably an aggregate of 200,000 square miles of coal lands; and of this amount nearly three-fourths are found in the United states. The significance of this fact it were well for every citizen of this country to comprehend. It would perchance lead him to high thoughts of the destiny which this people may work out for itself; and it could scarcely fail to awaken, in a reflective mind, a fear, lest, by their own culpable neglect, they should at last come short of it.

At the present time, with her 12,000 square miles of coal,

* These statistics are very imperfect. Recent investigations in our own country make it probable, that our own coal lands are more nearly 160,000 square miles than the amount given above.

Great Britain digs annually, perhaps, 35,000,000 tons, while the United States, with twelve times that amount, digs only from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000. Great Britain digs and consumes four or five times the amount that the United States does; for over 30,000,000 are for home consumption. The result is before our eyes, in the vast development of her manufactures and her commerce; and in the position which she has, by these means, secured for herself among the nations of the earth. The elements of her might are to be found in the coal and iron which God has given to her, and in the ability to use them, as well as His other gifts, to good purpose.

But these means of wealth and power, these materials so indispensable to the progress of nations, and of the race, God has also given to these States with a liberal hand. And upon their citizens he has also bestowed the ability to use them for their own good, and for the good of the whole family of man. And from the measure of these gifts, from the quantity of these materials which his own country possesses, compared with what has fallen to the lot of other nations, the citizen of the United States may draw some just inferences in regard to the future of his own and of other lands.

If we make a brief comparison of the manufacturing and commercial statistics of Great Britain and the United States, it will be apparent, that the latter, though yet in its early youth is beginning already to contend, with no puerile energy, for the palm, with its great competitor. The manufacture of articles of iron, cotton, wool and leather is steadily advancing in our country. Our iron products for 1851, amounted to one half of those of Great Britain; our cotton, one third; our woollen, one third; our leather, one half. Our manufactures, amid many reverses and difficulties, have made very encouraging progress, and our commerce has fully kept pace with our power of production.

The tonnage of the United States has been steadily increasing for the last sixty years. In 1801, her entire tonnage amounted only to 500,000 tons. In 1852, it was reported at 3,535,451, and was expected to advance at the rate of a quarter of a million of tons annually.

In the same year the tonnage of Great Britain was reported

to be 4,144,115 tons, showing an aggregate of 608,644 tons above that of the United States. In 1854, the United States counted 4,802,903 tons; and Great Britain 5,043,270 tons; an excess of only 240,267 tons in favor of the latter. In 1855 the tonnage of the United States was, by the lowest estimate that we have seen, 5,212,000 tons. It seems then that the annual increase since 1852 has been 558,850 tons—an increase more than twice as great as was expected. The annual increase of the tonnage of Great Britain during the years '53, '54 was only 424,577. If the two nations preserve the same ratio of increase in subsequent years, in 1859 the United States will lay claim to the largest tonnage in the world. She will be likely to assume at an early day the highest rank as a commercial people.

It would seem as though the words of the Hon. W. H. Seward, uttered in the Senate Chamber at Washington, in the winter of 1852, had waked up the people of the United States to more vigorous efforts. At the close of his discussion of the Cuba question he said:

You are already the great continental power of America. But does that content you? I trust it does not. You want the commerce of the world; which is the empire of the world. That is to be looked for not on the American lakes, nor on the Atlantic coast, nor on the Caribbean Sea, nor on the Mediterranean, nor on the Baltic, nor on the Atlantic Ocean, but on the Pacific Ocean and its islands and continents. Be not over confident. Disregard not France and England and Russia. Watch them with jealousy and baffle their designs against you. But look for these great rivals where they are to be found; on those continents and seas where the prize for which you are contending with them is to be found. Open up a high way through your country from New York to San Francisco; put your domain under cultivation, and your ten thousand wheels of manufacture in motion; multiply your ships and send them forth to the East. The nation that draws most materials and provisions from the earth; and fabricates the most; and sells the most of productions and fabrics to other nations; must be and will be the great power of the earth.

We may well ask whether it is possible for these United States to become "the great power of the earth." In all humility and lowliness of mind we may watch all the eddies and ripples of that current on which we float, in order to ascertain whether it is true, that we are moving steadily forward to that position of great honor, but of equally great responsibility. True patriotism bids us look attentively at all that concerns the present and the future welfare of our country. It is not

for us to confine our attention to the present year or the present century. The staunch and sturdy Roman patriot was not content to labour for the Rome of his own day merely ; but the yearnings of his great heart went out for the Rome of all coming time. This yearning inspired his thoughts and developed his energies and controlled his life. Happy will it be for this nation, when the hearts of our citizens, and our Statesmen are filled with such a yearning for the welfare of our country and the honor of our name, in all ages, till the mystery of God shall be finished and the work of time shall end.

Our subject naturally leads us to ask, what position in regard to the nations of the world these United States may naturally expect to occupy ; what prophecies of the future God Himself has written on the solid rocks. There are mute prophecies graven thereon in ages long since past, by God Himself, prophecies that point to a possible future position high as any nation has attained hitherto, higher than any other nation can hope to attain in days to come. There are gathered here, in this land, those natural elements which need only to be used aright, to make these United States eventually the great power of the earth. Our great competitor for this position is the Mother Country, and we very cheerfully bid her Godspeed in every honest effort to secure it for herself ; and enjoy it in perpetuity. If hers should be the honor, hers will also be the heavy responsibility. The force of circumstances, however, are against her in the race.

Most travellers on our Western waters have often witnessed an eager contest between two rival steamboats. The captain, the officers, the engineers, the firemen, the cook and the passengers, all at length enter into the spirit of the occasion ; and with breathless excitement they watch the progress of the two boats. Now one, and now the other shoots a few yards in advance. At length for mile after mile, onward they go, so nearly mated, that it might be thought one power impelled them both. Long is the suspense. But at last one of them begins to drop astern ; further and still further she falls behind. With undiminished speed the other pushes forward, until her lagging competitor is seen only in the dim distance,

and soon will be lost sight of altogether. The successful boat had a full supply of fuel and was enabled to push steadily on her way, while the rapidly diminishing supply of her less fortunate rival compelled her, at length, to abandon the hotly contested race.

Such it has seemed to us, is the contest between the United States and Great Britain. Of one stock, of one spirit; they are matched well for the race. It may well be thought that it will be contested long and earnestly. It becomes important then when we speculate on their chances in the race, to inquire into the comparative amount of fuel which they have in their holds. All other things remaining equal, their prospects for success must depend eventually upon this.

It may seem premature to speculate on the exhaustion of the supply of coal in Great Britain, when the area of her deposits is computed by thousands of square miles. But, thirty or forty millions of tons annually consumed, besides the waste in mining and transportation, which in the aggregate is very large, must eventually find the end of the largest possible supply. The subject has already attracted the attention of statesmen; and it would be a mark of profound wisdom were they to look at the subject more closely still. According to one computation, the supply, allowing for an increased consumption corresponding with what the last few years have witnessed, would be exhausted in about two hundred years. The bare possibility of the correctness of such a calculation ought to lead them to guard with the most jealous care the present and all future expenditure. The longest period that has been assigned to the duration of her supply of coal, is about seventeen hundred years. Even granting, what we sincerely hope may be true, that her supply is sufficient for the support of her fires for that long period; what is to become of her manufactures, what of her commerce, and what of her home comforts then? And, whether the supply is likely to suffice for two hundred or two thousand years, the difficulty of obtaining it will be increased from generation to generation. And what is to be the effect of even a small increase of cost, on the comfort of her people; and on her manufactures, especially those in which the cost

of the fuel is an important item in the cost of the product; and remotely what will be the effect on her commerce?

When a comparison is made between the consumption of coal in Great Britain with the probable supply, and the probable consumption in the United States with her estimated supply; it would seem that the day is coming when inevitably the latter must shoot far ahead of the stout competitor which she is now striving so earnestly to reach. There is a bare possibility that some new fuel may be found long before the coal of either country is exhausted; but until there is something more than a bare possibility of this, both Great Britain and the United States will do well to husband their resources, and guard with sedulous care against any lavish expenditure of their coal.

If the coal of the United States be indeed three-fourths of that laid up by God for the use of a world, what a boon they have received from Him, and how it becomes them to be grateful to Him for His peculiar blessing. Is this land indeed to be the final resting place of religion, civilization, and the arts? Is it true that the prophecy of Berkley is to be fulfilled to the letter?

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The first four acts already past,
The fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is her last."

* On this subject we may quote the language of Dr. Buckland whose words it would be well for the citizens both of Great Britain and the United States to ponder well.

"As no more coal is in process of formation, and our national prosperity must inevitably terminate with the exhaustion of these precious stores of mineral fuel which form the foundation of our greatest manufacturing and commercial establishments. I feel it my duty to entreat the attention of the legislature to two evil practices which are tending to accelerate the period when the contents of our coal mines will have been consumed. The first of these is the wanton waste which for more than fifty years has been committed by the coal-owners near New castle, by screening and burning annually in never extinguished lamps *fiery heaps* at the pits' mouths, more than one million of chaldrons of excellent small coal, being nearly one-third of the entire produce of the best coal-mines in England. This criminal destruction of the elements of our national industry, which is accelerating by one-third the not very distant period when these mines will be exhausted is perpetuated by colliers for the purpose of selling the remaining two-thirds at a greater profit than they would derive from the sale of the entire bulk unscreened to the coal merchant."

The second evil of which he complains is the large exportation of coal to keep up in some cases rival manufacturing establishments that could not be continued without British coal. "An *increased duty* on coal exported to any country excepting our own colonies, he says, might afford a remedy." *Address at Anniversary of Geological Society, London 1841.*

Geology would seem to indicate it; for where are the materials for further progress to be sought, when the vast coal beds of the North American continent are exhausted? It would seem capable of demonstration, if the past history of the use of coal can be relied on as argument, that here the last act of the great drama is to be played. It is possible, that here may be, for long centuries, the grand centre of power and influence to the world. Then what should be the feelings of those to whom this land has fallen for a heritage? They should be filled with gratitude and with fear; and should sedulously guard this soil for the crowding millions that are yet to find here their home; and are from hence to send out under God, such an influence on the destinies of the world. Woe to the world, if this fair land with its rich stores, so prophetic of future eminence, be the home of the lawless; the dwelling place of the despisers of God's law; the abode of the rejecters of God's grace in Jesus Christ. It becomes American Christians by their love of their country, by their love for mankind, by their love for the God and Father and Redeemer of the human race, to do speedily, what is within their power, to spread the Gospel throughout all the land and to win all the inhabitants thereof to the love and service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Once more to our statistics for another inference; and this inference will be of somewhat wider scope than the former. We have seen that three-fourths of the coal of the world belong to the United States; of the remaining fourth, three-fifths belong to Great Britain. That is, about nine-tenths of the coal of the world, have been thrown by the Creator into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race; into the hands of that people who have always stood foremost in the fight when battle was to be done for liberty of conscience and for civil rights. Nine-tenths of the coal of the world in those hands which already hold the two great forces that control the world, commerce, and manufactures! There is certainly significance in the fact that to the two great Protestant powers of the world, have been given, unsought, so large a proportion of that fuel which constitutes the very bone and sinews of commerce and manufactures. He must be a very careless or a very credu-

lous reader, who can look over the history of the nations of the earth, and notice the causes that have conspired to raise them up, and those that have tended to hasten their fall, yet see no reasons for inferring a wisdom and a foresight superior to that of men. The distribution of coal, the scattering of tribes and peoples and the raising up of nations would all seem, on any just view of the subject, to be parts of the great plan on which the Creator and Governor of the world is conducting the world's government. And they all seem, moreover, to foreshadow purposes of great good to the human family. Let us look at the facts and see what inference they warrant. A race of men energetic and enterprising; fitted by their natural characteristics, by their mental and moral culture, and by their hold on the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, to be leaders in the onward march of humanity, have had thrust into their hands, unlooked for and unexpected, a treasure, which, if used aright, must secure to them a controlling influence on the affairs of the world. Is it not proper to infer that the God of Creation and of Providence is the God of the Bible, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that He has pre-arranged creation, and directed His providence, so as to further the work which the Gospel proposes to accomplish?

But we have not yet exhausted the subject. We have not yet examined all the evidences of the gracious purpose of the Creator and Governor of the world. At the very time when His first gift to the Anglo-Saxon race is coming to be properly valued, and to be used for its appropriate end; at the very time when it is raising this people to such a position among the various races of men, the two great gold fields of the world, California and Australia, are also made over to them. It is not necessary to narrate here the train of circumstances by which these two countries, with rich but, as yet, unthought of treasures, came into the power of the United States and Great Britain; and by which almost simultaneously, the long unknown treasure was brought to light in both countries. The fact is one that is full of meaning. It certainly gives us a new reason for considering the works of Creation and of Providence, as indicating a design on the part of God the Redeemer, a benevolent design towards

these nations themselves, and through them, towards the whole race of man.

Such peculiar dispensations toward these nations lift them to a distinguished position in the world, and give importance to all that pertains to their internal progress or their external policy. Sharing, jointly, in God's great blessings, it becomes them, as brothers, to stand side by side for the fulfillment of their united destiny. Great Britain is the elder, the United States the younger. The English have led the van in the use of that fuel which so rapidly generates power in the world. We with our Benjamin's portion, will emulate their example and push on in their footsteps. We will neither envy them their priority of birth or of influence, nor will we boast of the large provision made to secure to us a glorious future. Other thoughts fill our mind. Other desires arise in our heart. We think of both nations as depositories of God's holy word, and of the Glorious gospel; and as endowed with the means of power and influence among the nations of the earth, not for their own selfish aggrandizement, but in order that they may the more rapidly spread abroad God's word, and the more efficiently further the universal triumph of Christ's gospel. We desire, that they may both quit themselves nobly in their efforts for their own religious advancement, and use well all the power intrusted to them for the religious advancement of the world.

ARTICLE VII.—BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL HYMNOLOGY.

THE Hebrews are the first people in connection with whom we have any authentic information on the subject of sacred hymns and music. At least two centuries before Orpheus tuned his lyre and sang the praises of the gods, the Israelitish nation used the timbrel and sang songs to Jehovah. The records of Moses carry us further back than those of any other author. He traces the invention of music to long years before the flood (Gen. iv., 21). The next mention which

he makes of the subject is in connection with Laban and Jacob, though it is in this case of a secular cast (Gen. xxxi., 26, 27). The fact of instruments suggests that vocal music must have been already cultivated. The 88th and 89th Psalms have been supposed by some—the learned Lightfoot* among others—to belong to the days of Egyptian bondage, and to be the oldest sacred songs extant. More modern commentators, however, attribute them to the times of David, and some even to the age of the Babylonish captivity. If Job is rightly placed among the patriarchs, it appears from the book bearing his name that musical instruments, and perhaps divine songs were common in the land of Ur (Job xxi., 12; xxx., 31). When God wrought deliverance for his people at the Red Sea, Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto the Lord (Ex. xv., 1–19). So did Miriam, sister of Aaron, with all the women (Ex. xv., 20, 21). The 90th Psalm, it is generally supposed, is a production of Moses. The Jews attribute the nine that follow it to him likewise, though without sufficient reason. The thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy is an ode by the same author, and was probably sung by the people. At a later period—in the times of the Judges—Deborah and Barak composed and sung a song that they might commemorate their escape from under the yoke of “Jabin, king of Canaan,” who, for twenty years, “mightily oppressed the children of Israel” (Judges 5). The prayer of Hannah, recorded in 1 Sam. ii., 1–10, is a religious ode. These embrace the chief of the notices of sacred music and song among the Hebrews, prior to the times of David, which has been handed down to us. From them we may learn that in the earliest times sacred melodies were composed, that instruments of music were used, and that all the people publicly sang the praises of God. Whether Psalmody was original with the Hebrews at the Exodus, or whether they had learned it in Egypt, or of some other people, is not certainly known. But as the earliest productions of any people are always lyrical and religious, and as the Egyptians were a wise nation and worshippers of

* Works, Vol. ii., p. 22.

the gods, it is natural to suppose, even had we no direct evidence of the fact, that sacred music was an art practised by this oldest and most civilized people of whom we have any extended record.

The most important era in hymnology and sacred music is the age of King David. He is the greatest composer of Psalmody the world has ever had—the first and the last, without a second or a rival. A sacred historian speaks of him under the honorable appellation of “the sweet Psalmist of Israel.” He is the divine Poet Laureate of the human race. He wrote more of the Psalms than any other individual; on which account, as also from the interest he took in introducing them in public worship, the whole collection is called by his name.

Beside the lyrical productions of David, the Scriptures contain numerous sacred songs by other authors. Some of the Psalms were composed by Moses, others by Asaph, the sons of Korah, Jeduthem, Heman, Ethan, and Solomon, and others still by persons whose names have been lost. Beginning with Moses and extending through a period of at least nine hundred years, and some say to even the age of the Maccabees (without, however, just grounds), the Church of God, under the ancient dispensation, had her poets, who, probably, composed odes as the necessities of the people required. Many of these are now lost. Solomon wrote a thousand and five songs (1 Kings iv., 32). But of this vast number we cannot say certainly that more than one (the 127th) is extant. In addition to the songs collected in the book of Psalms, there are several prayers in the other Scriptures which are of a lyrical character, as the prayers of Isaiah (Is. xxvi.), of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii., 10-20), of Jonah (Jon. iii.), and of Habakkuk (Hab. iii.).

Most of these productions have been sung in all succeeding ages and under every clime :

“The songs that flowed on Zion’s hill
Are chaunted in God’s temple still,
And to the eye of Faith unfold
The glories of his house of old.” *

* Mrs. Hale.

They embrace almost every variety of sentiment suitable to devotional expression, yet not so as properly to prevent the introduction, in modern times, of additional hymns.

Music was set by the Jews to their odes. What the nature of this music was we have no exact information, as it has not been transmitted. Both vocal and instrumental was employed. David was an inventor of musical instruments (1 Chron. xxiii., 5; 2 Chron. vii., 6). In this too he was followed by other Jews (Amos vi., 5). Of the character of these instruments, of which in detail it would be difficult to discourse satisfactorily, we cannot here speak particularly, it being sufficient for our purpose to simply indicate that such things were used by the Israelites in the worship of God.

David formed choirs. The Levites being numerous, and many of them unemployed, he took three of the sons of Levi, with their children, and arranged them in twenty-four bands, who performed in turn, in the tabernacle, after the ark had rest. These sung and played at the dedication of Solomon's temple (2 Chron. v., 11-13), and afterward at the foundation of the second (Ezra iii., 9-10), while on the Sabbaths and other festivals, they stood by the altar of burnt sacrifice, praising the God of Jacob (1 Chron. xxvi., 4-6; xxv, 1; 2 Chron. xxix., 25). The number of singers in each band was twelve, making in all two hundred, fourscore, and eight. When David composed an ode, he sent it to the chief of these musicians, who, doubtless, arranged for it a tune, and performed it with his brethren. Thus new music as well as new hymns was continually appearing. In these choirs both men and women sang. The whole arrangement was, probably, by a Divine order, and must have been very novel and imposing, calculated to strike the worshippers with awe and inspire them with feelings of devotion.

The songs of Sion became very celebrated among other people; and often were the Jews in exile required to sing them (Psal. cxxxvii. 3); whence it may appear that not only the choirs but possibly the people too learned the melodies of the temple. Since the destruction of their city and their consequent dispersion, the cultivation of sacred music has not been with the Jews a prominent object of attention. It does not seem

consonant that it should be, as according to their notions respecting Jesus of Nazareth, the Lord their *Messiah* delayeth his coming. In a few places they sing, especially in Germany. But as a people they have lost that celebrity in music which the Fathers attained.

But not only the Jews; heathen nations also, of the remotest antiquity, had their religious songs. The oldest poems, remarks Plato,* consists of divine hymns. Linus is the first heathen poet of whom we find any record. His poems are of a sacred character. He was a *Greek*, and according to the legends a cotemporary of Joshua. Following him at the distance of about a century was Orpheus. He composed, it is said, several divine songs. Then followed Homer, a century later perhaps than Solomon, and in the days of Elijah. After Homer came Hesiod. The two latter have married the gods and religion to poetry. Several hymns were discovered during the last century† addressed to Apollo and other of the heathen deities. They are doubtless of very high antiquity. The ancient critics usually attributed them to Homer. Music was early connected by the Greeks with religion. Pythagoras, it is well known, regarded it as something divine eminently tending to enliven the affections and conducive to meditation. From the book of Daniel, it appears that in *Babylon* in the days of the Jewish captivity musical instruments were employed in religious worship in that city (Dan. iii. 5). The oldest specimen of *Latin* poetry extant is of a religious character. It is supposed to belong to the age of Romulus. Dunlop has given it in his history of Roman literature,‡ of which the following is his translation.

"Ye 'Lares aid us! Mars thou God of might!
From murrain shield the flocks, the flowers from blight.
For thee, O Mars! a feast shall be prepared;
Salt and a wether from the herd;
Invite by turn each demigod of Spring.
Great Mars, assist us! Triumph! Triumph sing!"

Several interesting observations might be connected with this fragment of the Old Roman Hymnology; but nothing

* De Leg. B. 3. † At Moscow. Edited by Ruhenken. ‡ Vol. 1, p. 41.

more than its bare quotation is necessary. It fully illustrates the connection of poetry and music with religion and divine worship which prevailed among the early Romans. This hymn which has been discovered in modern times* used to be sung by the *Fratres Arvales*, a company of priests who officiated at Old Rome in the festivals called *Ambarvalia*. Clemens, Alexandrinus, and Porphyry make mention of the use of hymns by the *Egyptians* and *Indians*.—Arrianus, who flourished in the second century, and who was in his own country—Greece—a priest of Ceres and Proserpina, but who afterward, coming to Rome, devoted himself to philosophy under Epictetus, makes use of the following language—"If we are intelligent creatures what else should we do both in public and private, than to sing a hymn to the deity? If I was a nightingale, I would do as a nightingale, and if a swan, as a swan; but since I am a rational creature, I ought to praise God, and I exhort you to the self-same song: this is my work while I live, to sing an hymn to God, both by myself and before one or many." We do not find, indeed, that the musical element in Heathen worship was of a very imposing character—such for example, as formerly attained among the Jews, and shortly afterward among the Christians. It is sufficient, however, to have found that it existed. It goes far, as we shall presently notice, towards establishing an important doctrine in connection with our subject.

We have pointed out the hymns and music of the Old Testament; it remains for us to consider the same in connection with the New Testament. Singing is here enjoined and regulated and examples given. At the institution of the supper, Jesus and his disciples "sung an hymn" (Matt. xxvi., 30: Mark, xiv., 26). According to some † Christ then instituted singing as an *ordinance* to be observed in his church for ever by *all* his people. The Vulgate translates the original (*ὕμνησαντες*) of the sacred historian by the words "*hymno dicto*." Erasmus, in his translation of the New Testament, departs from this rendering and gives one more in accordance with the Greek. His words are "*cum cecinissent*." For

* At Rome in 1778, on a stone, in digging foundations of Sacristy of St. Peter's.

† W. Bridge's works, vol. 4, p. 137.

this he received the commendation of Beza.* The rendering of the Vulgate in giving the singular for the plural, would confine the singing to perhaps but one of the company, which would be manifestly contrary to the sense of the original. The ambiguity of the word *ὑμνεω* has given rise to some perplexity. It may mean either to recite or to sing. Campbell has chosen to retain it as ambiguous by rendering it here, "and after the hymn."† But surely the plural form according to which they all joined, might have precluded the idea that the hymn was only recited. That which they sung was doubtless a part or the whole of what is called the great Hallel, a portion of the Psalms extending from the 113th to the 118th. These the Jews were accustomed to sing at the Passover. We do not find, however, that singing was any part of the institution as originally given by Moses. It was an addition of after ages. But our Lord accepted it, because suited to his kingdom. Melville draws from all this the inference that the church may be allowed to modify ordinances.‡ This is surely unfair. For the adoption of all of what was a corruption in one ordinance, in the institution of another, can by no means be construed as sanctioning even its introduction into the first; much less therefore can it give it the force of a pattern, to be followed in all similar cases by uninspired disciples. In accordance with this example of their Lord, his churches ever sing an hymn at the close of celebrating the Eucharist. There is something exceedingly touching, which every communicant may well feel, in Christ's thus singing an hymn with his disciples; and that immediately before he suffered. He was probably the precentor of this little congregation of chosen ones. It is usually regarded as unfit thus to sing songs on mournful occasions (Psalm cxxxvii: Dan. vi, 18), and it can only be justified by an element of joy being connected. This was the case with Christ. His crucifixion was connected with a crown. "For the joy that was set before him he endured the cross, despising the shame." The apostolic constitutions appointed the 34th Psalm to be sung at the Supper. In ages

* "Ut intelligatur apostolos una cum Christo cecinisse."

† Note on Matt. xxvi, 30.

‡ Sermons, vol. 2, p. 33.

subsequent, a selection was made of the 42d, 43d, 45th, 133d, 139th, or 145th.

In his first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul speaks of their having "a psalm" in their meetings, and directs that singing be done "with the spirit and with the understanding." (1 Cor. xiv., 15, 26.) He is speaking here of the gift of tongues, particularly that form of it which manifested itself in odes; and which, he says, should be controlled "to edification." This passage does not countenance simple singing in the heart. For the spirit referred to is the *spirit of God*. In the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Paul speaks of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs;" and enjoins the singing of them as a public service to be engaged in with a fervent heart by all the disciples. (Eph. v., 19, Col. iii, 16.) James, too, gives direction to sing psalms (James v., 13). From these passages it is evident psalmody was a part of worship practised and approved in the churches of the apostles, and that the whole body of Christ's people were expected to join in the service. The prophecies of Mary (Luke i., 46-56) and of Simeon (Luke ii., 25-35) are highly poetical, and were probably uttered in the form of singing. The heavenly host who appeared to the shepherds at Bethlehem, *sang* (Luke ii., 13,) God's praises; and Paul and Silas, at midnight, in the jail of Philippi, did the same; and so loud that the prisoners heard them. (Acts, xvi, 25.)

Singing, it thus appears, has been ordained a part of Church service. But it is to be observed further, that it is of the nature of moral obligation. We have seen sufficient to make it probable at least, that it has been practised in all the early ages, and by all people in their religious offerings. Hence we may infer that sacred music is natural to the race. Gale, in his Court of the Gentiles, labors to trace the origin of its existence among heathen nations to the Jews. The religious poetry of Linus, Orpheus, and other Greek authors (fabled or real), he derives from their contact with the Hebrews.* But it is highly probable that the musical art was cultivated in Egypt, long before the Mosaic era; and it is conceded that

Grecian civilization sprung from the banks of the Nile. In the brilliant reign of Augustus, there was brought from Egypt to Rome a pillar which is supposed to have been erected by Sesostris, who ruled when Israel was a slave. On that pillar there is a representation of a musical instrument. Egyptian civilization and art, it is natural to suppose, began to decline after the exodus of Israel. It was at its height in the days of the patriarch Jacob, and dates its commencement to a period little short of the flood. From all this, we may gather that sacred music is a relic of the fall rather than of Mount Zion, and thus incumbent as a moral ordinance first. Jonathan Edwards, attributes the disposition to abound in singing which was manifested in New England in 1740, to the influence of the spirit of God.† In respect to singing as a religious duty, devolving upon all, the same divine is said to have observed, "that it is the command of God that all should sing—that they should make conscience of learning to sing, and that (where there is no natural inability), those who neglect to learn, live in sin." But while thus the history of religious song reaches back to the remotest antiquity, as if emanating directly from the bosom of God; it advances in the Apocalyptic vision to a period in the future beyond the furthest imagination. Holy music is one of the revealed pleasures of Heaven: it is a service which will be transplanted from the earth to the skies (Rev. v., 8, 9: xv., 2, 3), and the only service we read of that will. Its practice therefore, cannot but be a matter of sacred obligation to all.

ARTICLE VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Parabolic Teaching of Christ; or the Engravings of the New Testament. By the Rev. D. T. K. DRUMMOND, B.A., Oxon. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1855. 8vo. pp. 440.) The Parables of our Lord have been, in all ages, a rich source of instruction to the church. But they have also proved a fruitful theme of discussion among interpreters of the sacred writings. What constitutes a Parable? Wherein do the distinctions lie between the Parable, the Allegory and the Proverb? and what is the true principle of interpretation to be applied to Parables? These questions have been variously answered and there will probably always be some diversity of opinion in reference to them.

Mr. Trench, the most noted among recent writers on the Parables, has given a definition of the Parable which will include all the illustrative teaching of our Lord. Yet, in fact, he discards his own definition, and omits some of the richest passages in his parabolic discourses. Why, with his idea of what constitutes the New Testament parable, he should have passed by such parables as those of the Good Shepherd, the Wise and Foolish Builders, the Old and New Garment, and the like, we are unable to see. He thus eliminates the parabolic teaching of our Lord of its most striking examples.

In our judgment, a work professing to treat of *the* Parables of our Lord, should include every instance and passage of his illustrative and figurative teaching. Whatever difficulty there may be, in given cases, in adjusting the terms of the illustration to certain formal definitions of a parable, it seems to be the more natural and consistent course to treat all "the dark sayings" of our Lord as parables. He foretold of himself, through the prophet, that he would open his mouth in parables; and this is declared, in the Gospel, to have been the exclusive method of his teaching; at least in certain places, and during certain periods of his ministry. And we find, in fact, that some parts of his teaching, which, according to our definitions and distinctions, would be allegories or proverbs, were put forth by him as parables, and received as such, by his disciples. For instance, Luke, in recording our Lord's remark concerning the blind leading the blind, "calls it a parable." And when Christ said, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man," Peter said "Declare unto us *this parable.*"

And while we thus adopt the principle of the largest inclusion, in deciding what is embraced in the parabolic teaching of our Lord, we are also in favor of as wide an application of the incidents in the parables as can be made to consist with fidelity to the central truths which they were meant to illustrate.

The work of Mr. Drummond is constructed in accordance with these views. He includes all the instances of our Lord's illustrative teaching in his treatment of the parables, and adopts a rule of interpretation which is at

once expansive and judicious. Though less critical than Mr. Trench, he is more practical. Though his work is enriched with few of those quotations from patristic and mediæval sources, which adorn the pages of Mr. Trench, it indicates no want of familiarity with the literature of its theme.

Mr. Drummond has departed from the chronological order of the parables, as contained in the sacred narrative, and grouped them according to their subjects. Part First embraces those parables which relate to "Man in Satan's Kingdom—his condition, his actings, and his prospects." Part Second contain those which treat of "The Prince of the Kingdom of Light." Part Third consists of those which are designed to illustrate "Christ's Work of Grace in its Personal and Experimental Character." Parts Fourth, Fifth and Sixth, contain those which relate to "Christ's Work of Grace in its Historical and Prophetical Character." This method has its advantages, in the way of exposition; though it tends to create a degree of confusion in reference to time and place. The work is written in a clear, straight forward style, and is thoroughly evangelical. We can cheerfully commend it to the ministers of our denomination as a safe and valuable guide in the study of our Lord's Parables.

The Gospel in Ezekiel; illustrated in a Series of Discourses. By the Rev. THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 395.) Whoever takes up this volume expecting to find a formal effort to demonstrate the evangelical character of Ezekiel's Prophecy, will be disappointed. It consists simply of a series of Gospel sermons, the texts for which are selected from that work. Dr. Guthrie writes in a glowing and somewhat florid style; but his views are scriptural, and are set forth under illustrations of rare copiousness and beauty. We cannot give a better idea of his style than by making a brief quotation. The following will serve as a fair sample of the general style of the volume:

"It is, indeed, amazing, to see what grace will do, and where grace will grow; in what unlikely places God has his people, and out of what unlikely circumstances he calls them. I have seen a tree crowning the summit of a naked rock; and there it stood—in search of food, sending its roots out over the bare stone and down into every cranny—securely anchored by these moorings to the stormy crag. We have wondered how it grew up there, amid such rough nursing, how it could have survived many a wintry blast, and where, indeed, it found food or footing. Yet, like one familiar with hardship and adversities, it has grown and lived; it has kept its feet when the pride of the valley has bent to the storm; and like brave men who think not of yielding, but nail their colors to the mast, it has maintained its proud position, and kept its green flag waving on nature's topmast battlements.

"More wonderful than this, however, it is to see where the grace of God will live and grow. Tender exotic, plant brought from a more genial clime, one would suppose that it would require the kindest nursing, and most propitious circumstances; yet look here—a Daniel is bred for God, and for the bravest services in his cause, in no pious home of Israel; he grows in saintship amidst the imposition and effeminacy of a heathen palace. Paul was a persecutor, and is called to be a preacher—was a murderer, and becomes a martyr—once, no pharisee so proud, now no publican so humble. Like those

fabled monsters, which sailing on broad and scaly wings, descended on their helpless prey with streams of fire issuing from their formidable mouths, he set off for Damascus, "breathing out threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord." Jesus descended in person to meet his formidable persecutor, and selected him for his chiefest apostle. He bids him wash the blood of Stephen from his hands, and go preach the Gospel. And where afterwards has this very man some of his most devoted friends? Where but in Cæsar's household. What can more strikingly express the power of all-sufficient grace than the words of John Newton? One asked him whether he thought the heathen could be converted. "I have never doubted," he said, "that God could convert the heathen, since he converted me."—How should it keep hope alive under the darkest and most desponding circumstances, to see God calling grace out of the foulest sin? Look at this cold creeping worm! Playful childhood shrinks shuddering from its touch; yet a few weeks, and with merry laugh and flying feet that same childhood, over flowery meadows is hunting an insect that never lights upon the ground, but flitting in painted beauty from flower to flower, drinks nectar from their cups and sleeps the summer night away in the bosom of their perfumes. Change most wonderful! yet but a dull, earthly emblem of the divine transformation wrought in those who are transformed by the renewing of their minds." Gracious, glorious change! Have you felt it? May it be felt by all of us! You have it here in this woman, who, grieved in her mind, lies a-weeping at the feet of Jesus. She was a sinner. Her condition had been the basest; her bread the bitterest; her company the worst. She is casting off her vile sinful slough. She leaves it. She rises a new creature. The beauty of the Lord is on her; and now with wings of faith and love, wide outspread, she follows her Lord to heaven." (pp 177-179.)

We have received a very edifying volume entitled, *The Prayers of the Bible, with their Answers*, collected by a CHURCH MEMBER. (New York: A. S. Barnes, & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 340.) The design of the pious author of this volume has been to encourage the people of God to pray, by presenting an arrangement of the petitions of his servants, in former ages, with the answers which were granted to them. The work will also prove an effectual instructor in the exercise of prayer, by setting forth the forms and conditions of acceptable prayer, and teaching us how to offer it. Each petition is prefaced with illustrative and explanatory remarks. We commend the work to Christian readers.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 8vo. pp. 308.) Our pages have heretofore borne testimony to the value of Dr. Eadie's critical and exegetical labors. His Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle to the Ephesians, is well known and highly valued by scholars. We are glad to see that he is prosecuting his design of completing a course of Exegetical Commentaries. Dr. Eadie's aim in the volume before us, as in his former work, has been to arrive at the meaning of the inspired writers, from a strict analysis of the words used, and by close attention to the logical connection of thought. We take great pleasure in saying that, in the main, we think the author has been successful in teaching the true meaning of the Apostle. And while his work is to be valued chief-

ly as an aid to the critical study of the Epistle, it is yet worthy of attention on account of its high practical tendency. We must, however, take occasion just to express our surprise that Dr. Eadie should deny that there is any reference to the primitive mode of baptism in Col. ii. 12. We supposed that to be a point in reference to which scholars had ceased to entertain doubts, and candid men to cavil.

The Prophets of the Restoration; or, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. A New Translation, with Notes. By the Rev. T. V. MOORE, D.D. (New York: Robert Carter & Bros.. 1856. 8vo. pp. 408.) Dr. Moore, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va., is well known as a ripe scholar and brilliant writer. We are glad to see his attention turned to the elucidation of the Sacred Oracles, in a form like the volume before us. He has selected an important portion of the prophetic writings; in his own language, "the last words of God to the Churches before the incarnation," and has aimed to awaken "some fresh interest in these parting words of the spirit of prophecy." After an elaborate General Introduction, in which he discusses, with great force, the nature of prophecy, and its position in the economy of the Old Testament, with a view to unfold the organic connection between prophecy and history in the development of the Redemptive Work, he proceeds to give new translations of the books of which he treats, prefacing each translation with a special introduction, and following it with copious notes. We are highly pleased with the manner in which Dr. Moore has performed his work. His arrangement is simple and natural. By printing his translation separate from the notes, he has been able to give us a correct idea of the structure and natural divisions of the respective books. By printing the text of the Received Version, at the head of the pages containing his Notes, he has facilitated references. One of the most useful features of this work is the practical inferences which the author has appended to each section of his Notes—by which means he has combined the excellences of the critical and the practical methods of interpretation. The author gracefully intimates a desire to dedicate his work to that body of men who are doing more for the world, and for whom the world is doing less in return, than any other class of workers in society—his "*Brethren in the Christian Ministry*." We do not hesitate to say that the volume will prove an invaluable aid to these unrequited and unappreciated toilers in the Gospel field. We hope they may be able to prove its value. We ought to speak in special praise of the superior style in which the work is issued from the press. It is beautifully printed, and is, every way, a most attractive work.

Rev. John Blakely, of Kirkintilloch, Scotland, has produced a very interesting volume on *The Theology of Inventions*; or the Manifestation of Deity in the Works of Art. The design of the author is to show "that mechanical inventions, in the discovery of their elements and principles, and in the construction of their parts, are, and ought to be viewed, as emanations of the wisdom, power, and beneficence of God." It is a generally accepted arti-

cle of Christian belief, not only that God is present in nature, subordinating its agencies and forces to moral uses, but that he also bears sway in the departments of invention and discovery, making every improvement subservient to his merciful designs towards this ruined world. Mr. Blakely sets all this in a very clear and satisfactory light in this volume. He also illustrates the beneficence of the Deity in the mitigation of human suffering and toil, through the producing and other arts. His work is well arranged and clearly written, and must tend to awaken higher conceptions of the care and loving-kindness of God, and to excite the hearts of men to more profound gratitude for his providential mercies. (New York : R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo. pp. 294.)

The Messrs. Carter, New York, have issued in a neat 18mo pamphlet the sermon preached at Crathie Church, last October, before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, by Rev. JOHN CAIRD. The theme of the preacher is *Religion in Common Life*; and he discusses it in an evangelical spirit, and with force and beauty of diction. We are pleased to learn that her Majesty and his Royal Highness approve of such views as those contained in this admirable sermon. We quote a short passage, that our readers may form an estimate of its character.

"Much as has been said of the infusion of religious principle and motive into our worldly work, there is a preliminary advice of greater importance still—that we *be religious*. Life comes before growth. The soldier must enlist before he can serve. In vain, direction how to keep the fire ever burning on the altar, if first it be not kindled. No religion can be genuine, no goodness can be constant or lasting, that springs not, as its primary source, from faith in Jesus Christ. To know Christ as my Saviour—to come with all my guilt and weakness to him in whom trembling penitents never fail to find a friend—to cast myself at his feet in whom all that is sublime in divine holiness is softened, though not obscured, by all that is beautiful in human tenderness—and, believing in that love stronger than death, which, for me, and such as me, drained the cup of untold sorrows, and bore without a murmur the bitter curse of sin, to trust my soul for time and eternity to his hands—this is the beginning of true religion. And it is the essential love with which the believer must ever look to Him to whom he owes so much, that constitutes the main spring of the religion of daily life. Selfishness may prompt to a formal religion, natural susceptibility may give rise to a fitful one, but for a life of constant, fervent piety amidst the world's cares and toils, no motive is sufficient save one—self-devoted love to Christ." (pp. 48–50)

We repeat, we are gratified to see Royalty receiving such views as these with favor. We think our readers will regard the above extract as indicating anything but Unitarianism or rationalism, notwithstanding the clamors of a portion of the English press. We presume that the real ground of complaint in the premises is, that Mr. Caird is not a minister of the English Church, and that his views of religion are too spiritual, and give too little place to ritualism.

The Divine Love. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia : Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856. 12mo, pp. 340.) Dr. Eadie is becoming well and

favorably known in the United States, as a writer. In Scotland he has earned for himself a high reputation, which will in nothing be impaired by a careful reading of the volume named at the beginning of this notice; for the work is replete with interest, and cannot fail to gratify the general reader. The design of the volume is strictly for purposes practical and devotional. Yet no one can peruse its pages without being impressed that it is the product of a mind richly stored with a critical knowledge of the sacred Scriptures.

Never was there a grander theme; and seldom has that theme been presented in a manner at once more attractive and instructive.

The work is evangelical throughout, and this should serve as its passport to the confidence of those to whom its perusal is here recommended. The great doctrines of the Bible are fully recognized. Sin and redemption are here portrayed—the *one* fearfully debasing the sinner in the vilest dust—all guilty and condemned—the *other* lifting him, through boundless grace, to glory inconceivable and peace unspeakable. We will let the volume speak for itself, whereby our readers can judge of its style and character.

“But the same fervor of the Divine love is seen, in the end contemplated, and in the peculiar instrumentality by which that end is achieved. He gave His only-begotten Son for this purpose, “that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” The language plainly implies that the race are in a lost condition. The Son of God is given to keep them from perishing—from sinking into irretrievable ruin. It was a perdition great and terrible which sin had produced. What a frightful spectacle! a soul in ruins—away from God, and hostile to Him. His image gone, His glory in the dust, a darkened mind, a distracted or sensualized heart, a spirit in thralldom, appetite predominant, the divine law forgotten, conscience bribed, hushed, or quelled; and the end of man’s being not only unrealized, but, by a reversed polarity of inclination, fought against, and the end that was at the opposite extreme pursued and gained. And so the soul perishes—sinks, and sinks lower and lower still, till it falls into unending agony, and suffers the penalty of disloyal transgression. (p. 29.)

“In His love He gave Himself. It was no inferior gift He selected, for no inferior gift could be the adequate expression of His love. It would be content with nothing else and nothing less. The divine lover gave himself. It found no donation worthy of itself but Himself. The fires of Lebanon to consume the “cattle upon a thousand hills;” the lightnings of Jehovah to reduce the universe to ashes—these could not suffice to redeem a world. A Being originally above the law, and placed voluntarily by Himself beneath it; only He can so obey it as to satisfy it, and so suffer its penalty as to liberate it from the original transgressor. (p. 57.)

“Let us now consider how Jesus is to be loved. If our creed be, there is none like Christ, then the language of our heart will be—None but Christ! Had He common claims, He might be worthy of common love. Had He any rival—were there any truth but His that could enlighten, or any blood but His that could sanctify, or any power but His that could vanquish sin, and lift the sinner to glory, then affection toward Him might be either endangered or divided. But His claims are paramount, and therefore love to Him must not only be ardent, but supreme. It must correspond to His merits and character, rising to the occasion; and, like Aaron’s rod, swallowing up every rival emotion.” (p. 189.)

Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes; for the use of Christian Congregations, (New York : A. S. Barnes & Co.) This collection of Hymns, made by Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, is entitled to high praise. It is the most copious of any now in use, we believe, embracing nearly 1,400 hymns. The compiler has traversed a wide field, and has levied contributions from many who heretofore have never been enumerated among sacred poets. But he has gleaned little that we regard as unworthy, on the score of sentiment, devotional feeling, or purity of expression. Yet there are a few hymns that *we* never should use in the public worship of God,—some, because they are too awful to be either said or sung, as aids to devotion ; and others, because they are too frivolous to be used in the solemn assemblies. As an instance of the first, we would mention that terrible lyric of Watts, beginning, “ My thoughts on awful subjects roll,” in which the following stanzas occur :

“ Then swift and dreadful she descends
Down to the fiery coast,
Among abominable fiends,
Herself a frightened ghost.”

“ There endless crowds of sinners lie,
And darkness makes their chains ;
Tortured with keen despair they cry,
Yet wait for fiercer pains.”

However true and scriptural such sentiments may be, we are at a loss to conceive how they are ever to be sung with true Christian feeling.

As instances of those hymns in this collection, which are wanting in dignity and solemnity, we may point to the one on p. 124, commencing—“ We’re travelling home to heaven above,” to the one on p. 404, beginning—“ I’m a Pilgrim,” and to the one on p. 407, commencing—“ We shall see a light appear.” Some of the admirable hymns which Mr. Beecher has arranged under the title of *The Church*, subdivision of “ Institutions and Ordinances,” we would have placed among those which he has included under the title *Children*. Some of those which he has collected under the title of *Missions and Reforms*, we might have characterized as too secular, if we had not often felt the need of something like them, in public meetings, called to promote certain branches of Reform or Benevolence.

With the slight abatements which we have noted, we like this collection of hymns. Of the tunes we are scarcely competent to speak ; but our impression is, that, while some of them are objectionable on account of their associations, and others have little merit as compositions, the bulk of them are well adapted to the purposes of Protestant worship.

Baptist Thorough Religious Reformers. By JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, A. M. New York : Sheldon, Lamport, & Co. 1855. 18mo, pp. 162.)

We are here presented with a small volume containing great and weighty principles, many of which cannot fail of commending themselves to the judgment of the judicious reader. Had the reformation of the sixteenth

century been thoroughly founded and carried forward on the leading principles here offered to our consideration, the most opposing obstacles to the union of God's people, and consequently to the prevalence of the Gospel, had been taken out of the way. Obstacles, which, by reason of their inveteracy, and of having become largely incorporated with most of the ecclesiastical institutions of our times, may only and with great difficulty now be effectually removed. The volume is valuable, and will well repay a careful perusal. Correct principles underlie all uniform and correct practice.

A History of Philosophy, in Epitome, by Dr. ALBERT SCHWEGLER, is a work recently translated from the German by JULIUS SEELYE. (New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1856. Small 8vo., pp. 365). The original work is regarded as the best manual on the History of Philosophy, from the School of Hegel. The author presents the whole progress of speculative philosophy, in consecutive order, beginning with Thales and coming down to Hegel, whose system he regards as the ripest product of philosophy. His views of the Greek and German Philosophies are especially valuable. The work appears to have been faithfully translated, and we take occasion to commend it to students.

The Philosophy of the Weather ; and a Guide to its Changes. By T. B. BUTLER. (New York : D. Appleton & Co., Nos. 346 and 348 Broadway). 1856. 12mo, pp. 414.)

This interesting volume was handed to us at a period quite too late for an intelligent notice of it to appear in our present issue. We can do little more than call attention to the fact that such a work has been prepared by one who has given to the subject a large share of observation for the last forty years, and who has been prevailed upon to offer the results of his close and patient investigations to the public. Judge Butler has evidently made himself familiar with the "countenance of the sky," and he reads and interprets the face of the visible heavens with the ease and familiarity of an old acquaintance.

He has presented the subject in a new and attractive light, and as we are inclined to believe, shown on scientific principles that the weather is not governed by caprice, but, to an extent beyond what we have supposed, by fixed and invariable laws.

The subject is one which challenges a careful study, and we may well bring to its investigation our most mature thoughts.

The author has thus graphically laid before us the object of the volume :

"I propose to deal with *The Philosophy of the Weather*—to examine the nature and operation of the arrangements from which the phenomena result ; to strip the subject, if possible, of some of the complication and mystery in which traditionary axioms and false theories continue to envelope it ; to endeavor to grasp its principles, and unfold them in a plain, concise, and systematic manner, to the comprehension of 'the many,' who are equal partners with the scientific in its practical, if not in its philosophic interest ; and to deduce a few general rules by which its changes may be understood, and ultimately to a considerable extent, foreseen."

Elements of Logic; together with an Introductory Review of Philosophy in General, and a Preliminary View of Reason. By HENRY P. TAPPAN. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856. Small 8vo., pp 467). Our readers will see, from the quite full descriptive title-page, which we here quote, that Prof. Tappan has undertaken a more comprehensive treatise on Logic than we are wont to see. Usually, Logic is regarded simply as the science of inference. But Prof. Tappan regards it not merely as a method of obtaining inferences from truths, but also as a method of determining those first truths, and general principles, on which alone the processes of deduction can proceed. He considers it as "that branch of Philosophy which expounds the laws of the reason, as the faculty of truth and reality." We have no time to speak at any length of this work, but will commend it to the notice of our readers as every way worthy of attention. It is clear in statement, acute in reasoning, and forcible in expression. It is issued in the best style of the Appletons.

We have received from Bangs, Brother & Co., volumes II. and III. of *The Natural History of Pliny*. (London: H. G. Bohn. 1856. 12mo, pp. 536.) Pliny was regarded, in his time, as a miracle of learning and industry. His Natural History embraces almost every thing in the domain of nature, and many things that lie within the province of art. It is translated by the late John Bostock, M.D., F. R. S., and H. T. Riley, Esq., B.A. It forms a part of Mr. Bohn's Classical Library. The present volume treats largely of insects, vines, trees, and diverges quite largely on the manufacture of wines.

History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain. By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856. Vols. I. and II., 8vo, pp. 618, 610.) Mr. Prescott needs no introduction to the reading world. His admirable histories are read in both hemispheres, and in many languages. There is but one opinion with reference to the merits of his works among the students of history. He is generally allowed to possess some of the highest qualities as a historian. Indefatigable in the collection of his *material*, patient in research, critical in investigation, calm and discriminating in his judgment, possessing a nice historic sense which enables him to detect truth amidst the variances of discrepant and conflicting authorities, and, withal, master of a style at once brilliant and direct, graceful and strong, he has produced works which have taken their place among the world's classics.

The subject of the volumes before us, it is understood, has engaged the attention of the author during many years. And he could scarcely have found a theme more worthy of the maturity of his great powers. Considering the pitch of wealth and power to which the Spanish monarchy had risen during the reign of Charles V., the circumstances which favored the increase and perpetuation of its advantages, and the strange eclat which Philip's accession to power received from the voluntary, but ostentatious retirement of his father from the throne, the commencement of that prince's reign may well be

regarded as an era in the history of modern nations. His reign embraced the period, and his dominions were made the theatre, of those great events which have shaped or modified the condition of the political and religious world ever since. When he assumed the sceptre, Spain was at the culminating point of her power and splendor. The Netherlands, and a large part of Italy, besides those vast possessions of the New World, held by the titles of discovery, and conquest, acknowledged her sway. Splendid as was the patrimony on which the young prince then entered, he aimed to increase it; and circumstances seemed to favor his design. He sought to unite the fortunes of the English and Spanish crowns; a measure which promised to consolidate the two richest and most powerful monarchies of Europe, and to wed the commerce of the Indies to the treasures of Mexico and Peru. His hope, of course, was to make all his power and treasure and commerce only so many sources of aggrandizing the position and influence of his hereditary kingdom. But besides this universal sway of the Spanish sceptre, Philip sought to enforce the universal prevalence of the rule and dogmas of the Romish Church. It looked like a great stride toward the accomplishment of both these ends, when he was united in marriage with Queen Mary, of England. After the death of that unhappy princess, he endeavored to perpetuate his influence in England by means of a similar alliance with Queen Elizabeth. But failing in this, he finally entertained thoughts of subduing that kingdom, by a stroke of power, and launched against it the renowned expedition known as the Invincible Armada. He lived to see this mighty armament scattered, and lost; the Netherlands alienated, and in successful revolt; Protestantism triumphant in England, in the Netherlands, and in a large part of Germany; and bequeathed to his successors a dismembered empire, and a decaying power. Considering the military and pecuniary resources at his command, the prowess of his armies, the skill of his generals, his own consummate craft, and the powerful alliances which he was able to control, his failure in the two great objects of his reign deserves to be recorded among the miracles of history.

Mr. Prescott, in these volumes, enters on the task of writing a scientific narrative of the complicated events of Philip's reign. He is to trace the domestic and foreign policy of that monarch, to describe the alternate successes and reverses which he experienced, and to unfold the causes which, commencing in the measures of his reign, have borne their ripened fruit in the political and social condition of the Spanish monarchy of to-day. He begins with the gorgeous ceremony of the Emperor's abdication in favor of Philip, in 1555, and brings the narrative down to the death of his son, Carlos, and his wife, Isabella, and the execution of Counts Egmont, and Hoorne, in 1568. It will be seen, therefore, that these two volumes cover a period of only about thirteen, out of the forty-three, years of Philip's reign. Mr. Prescott writes with a remarkable degree of impartiality, rarely pausing to draw an inference from the facts and events which he chronicles. If he has any theories according to which he would adjust the course of his history, we have been unable to find them. Yet we think it is clear, from the views which he gives

us, of the character and policy of Philip, that the main clue to his measures, and the chief source of the heavy disasters which marked his reign, must be sought in his devotion to the Romish Church. The judicial calmness of the historian, will only serve to make his conclusion the more apparent and irresistible. Never have we been so profoundly impressed with the blindness and infatuation of Papacy, never have we so realized the revolting cruelty of the Inquisition, as while reading the calm and almost cold statements of these unimpassioned pages. Stripped of all the accessions of prejudice and passion, the author's words penetrate us with a sense of the terribleness of the scenes which he depicts. We may direct our readers, who have access to Mr. Prescott's volumes, to an account which he gives of an *auto da Fe*, which Philip witnessed at Valladolid, soon after his espousal to the beautiful Elizabeth, of France. (Vol. 1. p. 427.) His descriptions are always vivid and striking, his portraitures of character evince keen insight and just discrimination, and every part of the work betrays the hand of a master.

The History of Massachusetts. The Colonial Period. By JOHN STETSON BARRY. (Boston: Philips Sampson, & Co. 1855. pp. 516.) Our Literature is becoming quite rich in local and provincial history. The old annals and Records of particular States, and even of important municipalities are giving place to well arranged and philosophical narratives. We noticed, a few years since, the admirable "History of the State of New York," by Mr. Brodhead, and we now have to notice a similar work on the History of Massachusetts. If Mr. Barry has not had the good fortune to fall in with a mass of original matter, like that which led Mr. Brodhead to undertake his noble work, he has the merit of rare industry and perseverance in research. He has traversed all the field of history, bearing in any way on the elucidation of his theme, and the materials which he has collected, with so much labor, are wrought with equal tact and judgment. He seems to be impartial. His narrative is clear, and flows naturally, his reflections are just, and his conclusions generally worthy of acceptance. We will give one or two extracts from his pages, which will serve to illustrate the judicial spirit in which he writes, and at the same time, afford a fair example of his style. The following view of the revival idea of the Puritans, and their relation to the English Church and State, will be read with interest:

"It must not be forgotten, however, in defining the position of Puritanism in the reign of Elizabeth, that the controversies which convulsed the Kingdom, and threatened almost, to banish from the world the gentleness of the Gospel, were not wholly confined to the tippet and the surplice, the square cap and the liturgy. The Puritans were the harbingers of a political as of a moral revolution. They aimed not only to restore Christianity to its primitive simplicity, purging the church of the corruption of ages, but they aimed also to overthrow the idea, the main pillar of the prerogatives of royalty, that we should obey man rather than God. Doubtless the ultimate tendency of their views, was to republicanism, rather than to monarchy. They would yield in religion, nothing arbitrarily, to the temporal sovereign. It was their motto, that in Church matters, God's word was the guide, and though they cannot be properly accused of open disloyalty, it must, at the

same time be acknowledged that their loyalty did not extend so far as to approve the doctrine of passive obedience. And because the Church and the State were considered one and inseparable, and the unity of the former was deemed the safety of the latter, non-conformity was persecuted on the plea of necessity. This is the true secret of the opposition of the English Church to Puritanism and Independency. This Church, like that of Rome, had virtually assumed its own infallibility. It had driven down the stakes which were never more to be removed. It had interwoven the hierarchy with the whole temporal constitution of the realm. It had built up a system mid-way between Puritanism and the despotism of the Catholic Church, and the test of loyalty was undeviating conformity to the Canons of the Church, and implicit obedience to the mandates of the crown. The Church was yet in its infancy, surrounded by subtle foes, the State was trembling upon the verge of revolution, and the instinct of self-preservation, prompted persecution of all who refused to put forth their hands to aid in supporting the Ark of the Lord, and the supremacy of the crown." (p. 43.)

Mr. Barry writes in the spirit of the largest charity to the early Puritans of Massachusetts, but he also aims to be just to those who sustained persecution at their hands. After a fair and impartial narrative of the controversy with Roger Williams, which ended in his banishment from the colony, the author thus sums up the account :

"Such is a brief account of the circumstances connected with the banishment of Mr. Williams, and, viewing them with 'a calm, a steady, and a christian hand,' as he has solicited, and as justice requires, no one will say it was because of his immorality that he was thus 'driven from his house, land and wife, in the midst of a New England winter,' leaving his companion with an infant in her arms, and his oldest daughter but two years old. No one will say it was because he lacked ministerial abilities that he was compelled with a heavy heart to part from all dear to him, and plunge into the wilderness, where, sorely tost for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter's season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, he cast himself on the hospitality of the sons of the forest. In morals he was above reproach ; and towards him as a minister, there was a 'general sentiment of respect.' His own statement is, it was 'only for the holy truth of Christ Jesus, that he was denied the common air to breathe in, and a civil cohabitation on the same common earth.' But the facts of the case seem to show that it was because his opinions differed from the opinions of those among whom he lived, and were considered by them as dangerous and seditious, tending to the utter destruction of their community, that he was a sacrifice to honest convictions of truth and duty." (p. 241.)

In the above extract we can excuse the rather tame censure awarded to the intolerance and cruelty of Mr. William's persecutors, in view of the ample justice which the author does to the integrity of his character, and the purity of his motives. In the following paragraph Mr. Barry indicates clearly enough on which side of this controversy, his own sympathies are enlisted.

"His subsequent career belongs to the history of Rhode Island ; and in taking leave of him here, we need only say, that, however the conduct of our fathers, in their treatment of this excellent man may be regretted, upon the broad grounds of Christian toleration, the purity of his life, the fervency of his zeal, and the sincerity of his religious convictions, joined to the triumph of the principles he espoused, especially his doctrine of the sanctity of conscience, have gained for him an immortality of fame, as merited and as

precious as the fame of his judges; and as the fables and visions of one age become the facts and practice of that which succeeds, so the prosperity of that colony, for which he labored so earnestly, and its successful vindication of his once despised but now accepted doctrine of soul liberty, which the world is beginning to recognize as an immutable truth, renders its history one of interest and attraction in the annals of New England." (p. 244.)

We have only space to add, that the volume before us is the first of a series on its important theme. The history is here brought down to the issuing of what is known as the Province Charter, of 1692, by William III. And the arrival of Sir William Phipps, as the Governor of the newly constituted Province, composed of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine. This volume is well edited, and is issued in a substantial and elegant style.

We have received from Bangs Brother, & Co., New York, the seventh and concluding volume of Mr. Bohn's new edition of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon Esq., (12 mo., pp. 594.) This edition of Gibbon is more amply annotated, and more carefully edited, than any other of the many editions which have been issued either in the old world or the new. The editor has selected the better part of the notes of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, Hugo and others, with such additions and corrections as the most recent sources of information afford. If a multitude of notes can help a book, we think this edition of Gibbon's great work may be regarded as well nigh perfect.

The Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his Brother Joseph. Selected and Translated, with Explanatory Notes, from the "Memoires du Roi Joseph." (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 388, 372.) These volumes present some traits in the character of Napoleon which will gratify his admirers, with much that will be seized upon by his enemies, to justify their prejudices. His early letters to Joseph reveal a depth and earnestness of affection, for which he has scarcely received general credit. The capacity of the man, the boldness and originality of his views, his attention to the minutest details of business, and his oversight of the multifarious interests of his empire and its dependencies, are matters which stand forth conspicuously in these remarkable letters. No one who wishes to form a true estimate of the man will fail to peruse these volumes. No Life of Napoleon which we have ever seen gives, on the whole, so satisfactory a portraiture of him as may be gleaned from these letters.

We have before us a similar work, relating to one, who, if he has left a less splendid name, yet retains a stronger hold on the feelings of the people of this country, at least. We allude to *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*. Edited by CALVIN COLTON, LL.D. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1856. 8vo, pp. 639.) Mr. Clay was not in the habit of keeping copies of his letters, but such of them as could be reclaimed from those to whom they were addressed, or their representatives, have been collected, and are here given to the public. Dr. Colton deserves the thanks of the American people for the difficult labor which he has performed, with so good a degree of success.

Macaulay's History. If the number of readers of Macaulay's History, in this country, only bear a reasonable ratio to the number of editions that have been issued here, he may, at least, feel flattered with the reception of his work among our people, whether he receive any more substantial satisfaction or not. The great house of the Harpers alone, publish it in three different forms. First, there is their octavo Library Edition, printed on fine paper, and large open type; then there is their cheap octavo edition, in a style nearly uniform with their Library of Standard Novels; and last, there is their neatly printed and convenient duodecimo edition. There is an edition of the work published in Philadelphia, and another in Cincinnati. But one of the neatest and cheapest editions published in this country is that of Phillips, Sampson & Co., of Boston, corresponding closely, in size and general appearance, with the Harpers' 12mo. edition; only, that the former omits the ample Indexes, which the latter contains.

Of the merits of the history itself, it is quite unnecessary for us to speak. Everybody reads it, and everybody admires it. It is generally authentic, and though written in the spirit of a partisan, the judgments which it expresses, are, for the most part, correct. It is the most minute history of the times concerning which it treats; yet, the details which would be repulsive in any other hands, Mr. Macaulay contrives to make absolutely attractive. It was thought, by some, that the historian would retract, or, at least, modify some statements in his two former volumes; such as the charges which he preferred against William Penn; but, so far from this, he returns to the charge, in his new volumes, with additional circumstance. It seems clear that Mr. Dixon, the biographer of Penn, has not satisfied Mr. Macaulay that it was "one George Penne," and not William, the founder of Pennsylvania, who was the real culprit in the matter of the chief offence, which the historian alleged against him, in the second volume of his work. Of one thing we suppose there can be no doubt: Penn was a violent partisan of the exiled Stuarts, and it is not improbable that, with all the excellences of his character, he was often betrayed into questionable acts. It is notorious that he was in correspondence with James, that parts of this correspondence were intercepted, that he was arrested, and that he was on one occasion thereafter, wanting in that straight-forward, manly dealing towards the government of William, which might have been expected from his general professions and character. But we have neither the time nor the space to enter into this question. It is understood that Mr. Macaulay will soon take some notice of Mr. Dixon's animadversions.

Dreams and Realities in the Life of a Pastor and Teacher, by the author of "Parish Side," professes to give descriptions of actual scenes in the life of one who has spent many years in the double profession of a preacher and an educator. The book abounds in interesting scenes and sketches, and will prove agreeable to those who take pleasure in the class of works to which it belongs. (New York: Derby & Jackson. 1856. 12mo., pp. 439.)

The Attaché in Madrid, or Sketches of the Court of Isabella II., is a racy, gossiping book, about the present Court of Spain, said to have been translated from the German. Those who are curious to study life and manners in the Spanish capital will do well to obtain it. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 368.)

The Shakspeare Papers of the late William Maginn, LL.D., Annotated by Dr. SHELTON MACKENZIE. (New York : Redfield. 1856. 12mo., pp. 353.) These papers comprise the third volume of Dr. Maginn's works, which Mr. Redfield is issuing, in uniform style. They were originally contributed to Bentley's Miscellany, and Fraser's Magazine, and consist of a critical estimate of the leading characters of Shakspeare's plays. Dr. Maginn controverts, with much warmth, the position taken by Dr. Farmer, in his Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, that the great poet was ignorant of any language but his own ; and that he derived all the classical quotations and allusions, to be found in his plays, at second hand. We have read portions of this volume with deep interest. Although unable to accept some of the views of the author, we can yet commend his papers as full of interest and power.

Mr. Redfield has just issued a fourth volume of *The Works of the late Edgar Allan Poe*. This volume contains the nautical story of "Arthur Gordon Pym," besides nineteen of his shorter sketches, contributed to the various magazines with which he held connection. We have here some of the most remarkable productions of a gifted, but unhappy genius. *Arthur Gordon Pym* is a story of great power, while some of the smaller pieces rank amongst the best contributions to the humorous literature of our times.

Edith Hale is a story of village life, told with more than usual success, by THRACE TALMON. The characters are well drawn, and the moral tone is unexceptionable. (Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 521.)

Wolfsden : An Authentic Account of Things There and Thereunto Pertaining, as they are and have been. By J. B. (Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 504.) The locality of this story is in the State of Maine. It betrays a new hand, and would be more acceptable if somewhat curtailed. Yet it presents some fine points, and will repay perusal.

Charlemont, or the Pride of the Village. A Tale of Kentucky. By GILMORE SIMMS, Esq. *Beauchampe, or the Kentucky Tragedy*. A Sequel to Charlemont. By the same author. (New York : Redfield. 1856. 12mo., pp. 447, 450.) These volumes contain a new story,—for notwithstanding the different titles, the story of these volumes is but one—of the gifted author of "The Partisan," etc. The tale is founded on a fearful domestic tragedy

which occurred in Kentucky a few years since, and which produced a profound sensation throughout the country. Mr. Simms has worked his materials with good effect, managing the incidents of the drama with his usual skill.

We have received from C. Scribner, New York, the second volume of the *Cyclopedia of American Literature*. By the BROTHERS DUYCKINCK. The work is now complete, in two imperial octavo volumes, amounting to nearly fifteen hundred pages. It embraces personal and critical notices of American authors, from the earliest day till the present time, with extracts from their writings. We have noticed the omission of some names which are entitled to a place in so comprehensive a collection of American Literature as this. But instead of being surprised that some are omitted, we rather wonder that so many are included. It was a great and difficult task that the authors entered upon, and there are few men in our country who could have executed it so well.

Sunlight and Heartlight; or, Fidelity and other Poems. By SYLVANUS DRYDEN PHELPS. (New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 251.) Dr. Phelps is well known as the able and beloved Pastor of the First Baptist Church, New Haven. He is an excellent preacher, and a most estimable man. In the beautiful volume before us, he has given us the collected results of his relaxations from the graver and severer toils of an exacting profession. Dr. Phelps possesses a high degree of poetic feeling, and fine powers of description, and has written much that the public will like to see in this permanent form. Our space forbids us to extract largely from this volume, but we must find room for the following sonnet:—

“Ye winds! the formless messengers of God!
 Oft as I listen to your solemn lays,
 Ye make the memory of departed days—
 The home of infancy—the paths I trod,
 And friends I loved, ere childhood's scenes were o'er:
 I hear your tones in old familiar trees,
 I see the orchard nodding to the breeze,
 And hear the woodland of the mountain roar:
 Ye mind me well of long-passed evening times
 When with the household group around the hearth,
 I sat, and listened to your mournful chimes,
 While all within was joy and social mirth;
 And now as by my dwelling-place ye sweep,
 Ye tell me of the graves where friends and kindred sleep.”

The Harpers have commenced the re-issue of Mr. Bohn's celebrated “Classical Library,” in a style uniform with the London editions, under the name of “Harpers' Classical Library.” This library consists of literal prose translations of the leading Greek and Latin Classics. We have received *Davidson's Virgil*, newly edited by Rev. T. A. BUCKLEY; *Smart's Horace*, issued under the supervision of the same editor; *Cicero's Offices and Moral Works*, trans-

lated by CYRUS R. EDMONDS; *Sallust, Florus and Vellius Paterculus*, translated by Rev. JOHN S. WATSON; *Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars*; and the *Anabasis and Memorabilia of Xenophon*, translated by Rev. J. S. WATSON, accompanied with the Geographical Commentary of W. F. Ainsworth, Esq.

Messrs. Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia, have commenced the publication of a work in numbers, entitled *The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia*. It is chiefly a condensed translation of Herzog's well known *Real Encyclopedia*, though some additions are made from other sources. The compilation is under the supervision Rev. G. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., of Philadelphia. It will prove a work of great value to students and ministers. Its articles cover a wide range, embracing Biblical Literature, Theology, Biography, &c. It is to be completed in twelve numbers imperial octavo, of 128 pages each, making two large volumes, of nearly 800 pages each.

The Life of John Chrysostom. By FREDERICK M. PERTHES. Translated from the German by ALVAH HOVEY and DAVID B. FORD. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1855. 16mo, pp. 360.) We regret that this excellent translation of a most useful and interesting book did not fall under our notice sooner. Brief and popular in style, it is just such a life of Chrysostom as ought to be in the hands of our people everywhere; and it unquestionably would be, were they as much interested in the History of Christianity, and in the lives of its most able and eloquent defenders, as they ought to be. But alas! our people generally are more attracted to the secular literature, nay more, we fear to the fictitious literature of the day, than to this, which ought profoundly to engage the attention of all Christian men. Chrysostom was one of the great lights, and one of the most devout and eloquent preachers of the early Church; and his life, in all the great elements of interest, infinitely transcends the majority of modern lives. Perthes' work, while popular in its general tone, is yet the production of an accurate scholar, and an able thinker. It is drawn from the best sources, and may be relied upon for accuracy. It contains many apt and beautiful quotations from the writings, and particularly from the discourses, of Chrysostom. The narrative is simple and flowing. The closing chapters are especially interesting. Here one gains a just conception of the piety as well as eloquence of "the golden mouthed" preacher.

The Life of Captain Nathan Hale the Martyr—Spy of the American Revolution. By J. W. STEWART. (Hartford: F. A. Brown. 1856. 12mo. pp. 230.) We hail this glowing tribute to the memory of "the Martyr Spy of the American Revolution," with a sense of gratitude to its accomplished author. Mr. Stewart has performed a work of love in the preparation of this life of NATHAN HALE. He has been obliged to work at great disadvantage, and on scanty *materiel*. Yet he has given us a volume rich in interest, and by no means barren of incident. It is remarkable that, while our people

know so much of Andre, and have felt so much sympathy for his fate, so little should be known respecting the self-devoted patriot who labored for his country, while living, and, in his cruel death, only regretted that he had but one life to sacrifice for its liberties. But he has at last found an appreciative biographer, and a worthy memorial. Mr. Stewart has given us a valuable book, combining all that is accessible concerning the early life, history and sad fate of the noble Martyr. We give the following description of his death-scene, in the glowing words of the biographer :

"His gait, as he approached the gallows, in spite of his pinioned arms, was upright and steady. No offending soldier to whom the choicer penalty has been assigned to receive the shot of his comrades, ever, in the midst of sympathy, and with the consciousness that he was allowed, at least, a soldier's death, marched more firmly to kneel upon his coffin than did Hale to meet the felon's doom. Through all the horror of his situation he maintained a deportment so dignified, a resolution so calm, a spirit so exalted by Christian readiness to meet his fate, and by the consciousness of duty done, and done in the holy cause of his country that his face wore the aspect of a seraph's—lifted, as it was, at frequent intervals, to heaven, and so radiant with hope, heroism and resignation.

"Thus looking, he stood at last—the few simple preparations being ended—elevated on one of the rounds of the gallows ladder, ready for the fatal fall. The coarse voice of Cunningham, whose eye watched every arrangement was now heard, scoffingly demanding from his victim, his dying speech and confession. Never was torturer more cheated of his purpose—never a victim endowed with utterance more sublime! One glance, it is said at Cunningham, one slight momentary contraction of his features into contempt, and he turned to look, filled again with holy energy and sweetness, upon the spectators—now impressed, most of them, with solemn awe, and some of them, the females, not forbearing to sob aloud. With a voice full, distinct, slow, which came mournfully thrilling from the very depths of his being, in words which patriotism will forever enshrine, and every monument to Hale's memory sink deepest into its stone, and every temple of liberty blazon highest on its entablature—at the very moment when the tightening knotted cord was to crush the life from his young body forever, he ejaculated as the last immortal testament of his heroic soul to the world he was leaving—*'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country!'*" (pp. 132-134.)

True Friendship. A Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Character of the Rev. John Overton Choules, D.D. Delivered in the Second Baptist Church, Newport, R. I., on Sunday, Feb. 24th, 1856. By WILLIAM HAGUE, D.D. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co, pp. 76.)

We regard Dr. Hague as singularly happy in his choice of a subject. He was abundantly qualified; and well has he executed his mournful task. He has acted the part of a true friend by this discourse, in which he does justice to the departed. There are few men who knew Dr. Choules, but can bear testimony to his Christian kindness. The writer of this notice can witness to it as "spontaneous, disinterested, strong and lasting."

The sermon is founded on Psal. lxxxviii., 18, "Lover and friend has thou put far from me." After a suitable introduction, the theme—"The characteristics of true friendship"—is announced. Four are mentioned—personal integrity

religious principle, sense of honor, and congeniality of tastes. Then follows an account of Dr. Choules from his birth to his death, with a "few observations relating to a general estimate of his character;" the whole closing with an address to the church.

From the sermon we gather that Dr. Choules was borne in Bristol, England, in 1801; was baptized by Dr. Ryland when 19 years of age; emigrated to the United States in 1824; took charge soon after of the Red Hook Academy, Dutchess Co., N.Y.; became pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Newport, R.I., in 1827; of the First Baptist Church, New Bedford, Mass., in 1833; removed thence to the Washington-street Baptist Church, Buffalo; next became pastor of the Sixth-street Baptist Church, New York City, since disbanded; then was settled at Jamaica Plains; and finally at Newport again. He died, while on a visit in New York, quoting "Jesus lover of my soul," &c., Jan. 7th, 1856. Dr. Choules edited "James' Church Members' Guide;" "The Christian Offering for 1831 or 1832." "History of Missions;" "Neal's History of the Puritans;" and "Foster's Statesmen of the English Commonwealth." He wrote "Young Americans Abroad," and "Cruise of the North Star;" furnished a Continuation of "Hinton's History of America;" edited the *Boston Christian Times*; was a Lecturer, and contributed to other papers and periodicals. The pages of this Review have been enriched by him.

We hope our readers will procure this sermon, and read it. It will well repay perusal.

The Christian Life; its course, its hindrances, and its helps. By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., &c. (Lindsay and Blakiston. 1856. 12mo, pp. 404.)

This work consists of an Introduction, with Thirty-nine Sermons, and a few pages of Notes. The introduction deals some effectual blows against the High Church party; but in the kindest possible spirit. It has before been published in this country, in a volume of his Miscellanies. The sermons are most of them short; but they abound in the "seeds of thought." This is the first of two volumes on the same general subject, each of which are complete in themselves. We are glad to see it published on this side of the Atlantic, and that it has already met with so much favor. It had reached in England some months ago the fifth edition. In the United States such a book is more specially wanted; for the tide has not yet begun to set, as in England, against the high church party, so that the battle of Christianity needs to be fought there on other grounds. Dr. Arnold complains that he has "been greatly misunderstood with respect to his estimate of the Christian church as distinguished from the Christian religion." But all those who read this volume will perceive that he is not out of love with the church of the New Testament, but only with its historical corruptions. We dismiss the book with favor, regretting we have not time for a more extended notice which we had intended.

The Prince of the House of David; or, Three Years in the Holy City. (New-York: Pudney & Russell. 1856. 12mo, pp. 454.)

This book professes to contain "A series of the letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, sojourning in Jerusalem in the days of Herod, addressed to her father, a wealthy Jew in Egypt, and relating, as by an eye-witness, all the scenes and wonderful incidents in the life of Jesus of Nazareth; from his baptism in Jordan to his crucifixion on Cavalry. Edited by the Rev. Prof. J. H. Ingraham, Rector of St. John's Church, Mobile." It has become quite popular. The volume before us, which has been in our possession some time, is one of its sixth thousand. From a cursory perusal of some of its chapters, it appears to us an attractive volume, and will, we trust, prove beneficial to those for whom it is specially intended. The cast of the book we wish to approve, but its execution is attended with serious difficulties. The author in his preface disclaims the charge of irreverence; but there is what we do not like—a mingling of fiction with facts, and those facts the most sacred in history. Prof. Ingraham has fallen into what seems to us the error of Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler, in his work recently issued in England, and now in course of being reprinted by the Harpers, entitled "*The Life and Travels of Herodotus*," in which, for the purpose of exhibiting the state of the world in the fifth century before Christ, an imaginary biography is linked to a real name, connected with which name we have many reliable facts. Now we think that such works as these are calculated to confuse our ideas, and in some minds perhaps produce more injurious effects. Our author, we perceive, assumes in the closing page as fact what we have no good reason to suppose ever was the case—that Paul preached the Gospel in Britain. This may be one of his fictions; but, as it is an historical question, its introduction does not appear proper. The serious blemish we have noted, to our mind sadly vitiates the whole work.

A View of the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, &c. (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856. 12mo., pp. 174.)

Archbishop Whately is becoming a very voluminous author. But whatever emanates from his pen is worthy of perusal. We have read the greater part of this volume with pleasure; and hope to peruse the remainder. The author is not historical but biblical. When he philosophizes, he does it well. The contents were originally delivered as lectures to his parishioners, and are practical. There are three lectures on Good and five on Evil Angels. He does not much favor the ministration of good angels now; yet he does not deny. He contends for the reality of Demoniacs; and cuts up some "prevailing errors relative to Satanic agency." The lectures on "the Reasons for the Revelations Respecting these Spirits" contain many valuable suggestions. The whole work is interspersed with remarks tending to augment and strengthen the Christian evidences. We commend it to students and the laity too.

Daniel Verified in History and Chronology; showing the complete fulfilment of all his prophecies relating to civil affairs, before the close of the fifth century. By A. M. OSBON, D.D., with an Introduction by D. D. WHEDON, D.D. (New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1856. 12mo, pp. 202.)

Works on Daniel we should think were sufficiently numerous. Still there may be points to be developed which have been overlooked — ends to accomplish, as the world rolls on, which require fresh discussion. What the claims of this little volume are to our special attention we do not know, as we received it too late for a careful perusal and comparison with similar works. We can do but little more than intimate its contents. It consists of five chapters. 1. Introduction. 2. The great image. 3. Vision of the four beasts. 4. Vision of ram and he-goat. 5. Periods of Chapter XII. The author thinks "that the 10th chapter has no connection with any other portion of the book." He denies that the last verses of Chapter XII. teach the resurrection. The remarks of Dr. Whedon, in his brief introduction, on the study of prophecy, are just and appropriate. It appears intended for popular use; but, beyond this, it may have an historical and exegetical significance which our cursory glance at it has failed to discover.

We have received from the press of Crocker & Brewster, a 12mo pamphlet, pp. 54, entitled "*Geological Proof of the Inspiration of the Bible.*" The name of the author is not given; and we have not by us the means of ascertaining. We regret to say we have not time for its perusal, for the press standeth still.

The State of the Soul between Death and the Resurrection. By Rev. PHINEAS BLAKEMAN, North Madison, Conn. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855. 18mo, pp. 114.)

We received this little book last quarter, but had not room for a notice. What we then prepared based upon a perusal has been mislaid. We have time now only to indicate its contents. After an introduction follows five chapters. 1. Conscious existence of the soul after death. 2. Mode of the soul's existence in its disembodied state. 3. Location of the world in which the soul resides between death and the resurrection. 4. Employments of the soul in the intermediate state. 5. Duration of that state. The subject is presented after the Socratic method. Beside the instruction it imparts to students of the divine mystery, it is specially worthy the perusal of mourners.

The American Baptist Publication Society has issued during the last quarter a little work by Dr. W. S. PLUMER, Professor of Theology in Alleghany City, entitled *The Church and her Enemies*. It details in a practical way "the trials and triumphs of God's afflicted ones," and is well worth perusal. (18mo, pp. 124.)

The same society has also issued recently *A Story of the West*, entitled *The Outcast Daughter*. 18mo, pp. 53.) This is an excellent little book for children, illustrating the safety and ultimate blessedness of those who, in the face of persecution, follow Christ by faith.

The Prison of Weltevreden ; and a Glance at the East Indian Archipelago. By WALTER M. GIBSON. (New York : J. C. Riker. 1855. 12mo, pp. 495.)

This book professes to give an account of the author's early life, and especially of his visit to the East Indian Archipelago, and his incarceration and escape from Weltevreden. There are some things about the work *we* do not like. But it will be interesting to all those who desire a knowledge of the character of the natives of the region visited by Mr. Gibson, and of the conduct of the Dutch there. It has been reprinted in London.

The Mystic and other Poems. By PHILIP JAMES BAILEY, Author of "Festus." (Ticknor & Fields. 1856. 12mo, pp. 159.)

The "other poems" of this volume are two—"a spiritual legend" and "a fairy tale." Those who liked the author's former productions will probably hail this with pleasure. As for ourselves we cannot read it. Its expression is bad ; and many of its sentiments, especially in the "legend," worse. The first line of "The Mystic" is

"Who holds not life more *yearful* than the hours."

Then follows more that is "mystical" enough, indeed. The specimen line we have given is we presume all-sufficient to most of our readers.

Selections from Modern Greek Writers, in Prose and Poetry ; with Notes by C. C. FELTON, LL.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. (Cambridge : John Bartlett. London : Trübner & Co., 12 Paternoster Row. 1856. 12mo. pp. 215.)

We are pleased to see this volume. Its aim is in the right direction. Professor Felton deserves well of the friends of classic literature, for the able manner in which he has performed his delicate task, in preparing the work, and also for the interest he is taking to improve our knowledge of the Greek tongue, as a living language.

To some extent has the sentiment prevailed that the Greek language belonged to a remote ancient period. The Romaic has been considered as cruel and unsettled, little removed, in respect to purity and refinement, from the vernacular of barbarous nations, and entirely unlike the Greek spoken in the times of Alexander the Great. Professor Felton's work will tend to disabuse the minds of such. The truth is, ancient and modern Greek is substantially the same language. Changes have come over it, as over all things else, in the course of centuries. But the Greek has suffered less in this respect than most other tongues. Modern Greek approaches much nearer to that spoken in the Byzantine period than the Italian to ancient Latin. The selections of Prof. Felton furnish fair specimens of the language as employed by the best Greek authors of modern times.

The volume closes with some forty pages of explanatory notes, which will greatly facilitate the reading of the work by those familiar only with ancient Greek. The mechanical execution of the volume is excellent, and we take pleasure in commending it to the learned reader.

Essays on the Preaching required by the times, and the best method of obtaining it ; with Reminiscences and Illustrations of Methodist Preaching. By ABEL STEVENS. New York : Carlton & Phillips. 1855. 12mo, pp. 266. We are glad to see this thoughtful and earnest effort to unfold and enforce the true nature and design of preaching the gospel. It is a work applicable to all religious communities, though specially intended for the Methodist Ministry. There has been a tendency of late among preachers of all denominations, to depart from the simplicity of the gospel, in the ministrations of the pulpit. Essays and Lectures have too frequently taken the place of preaching. With many, it is to be feared, the idea of ministerial success has not included the salvation of their hearers, but has embraced little more than mere external prosperity. It is the aim of the author of the work before us to check these evil tendencies in the ministry. We think that his book is adapted to such a result. He clearly points out the defects of modern preaching, shows the cause of the inefficiency of the pulpit in our day, and suggests the proper remedy, and then concludes with notices of some of the early Methodist preachers. The book is written in a remarkably clear and forcible style, and the Methodist especially will read it with much interest.

Japan as it Was and Is. By RICHARD HILDRETH, author of *History of the United States*. Boston : Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1855. 12mo, pp. 576. To those who know Mr. Hildreth's character as an author, it is scarcely necessary to say that this volume contains a full and ample account of the interesting country to which it relates. It includes all that is known of the history, government, institutions and people of Japan, with special notices of the efforts of the western nations to open intercourse with them. Mr. Hildreth, with characteristic industry, has grouped together all that the world has hitherto known with reference to that important empire. He has given the most complete history of the Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese relations with Japan to be found in any language, and there is no work in English which gives so full an account of the English and American efforts to open and maintain intercourse with its government and people.

The History of Russia from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Compiled from the most authentic sources including the works of Karamsin, Tooke, and Ségur. By WALTER K. KELLY. (In 2 volumes. London : H. G. Bohn. New York : Bangs, Brothers & Co. 1855. 12mo, pp. 502, 526.) This compilation of Russian history will be regarded with interest at the present juncture. It is derived from reliable sources, and is written in the clear and animated style for which Mr. Kelly has come to be so well known. These volumes embrace all that general readers will desire concerning the past history and present position of the great northern despotism. They bring the history down to the death of Nicholas I. and the accession of Alexander II.

Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover. By Dr. DORAN, author of "*Habits and Men*," "*Table Traits*," &c. (New York : Redfield.

1855. pp. 420, 377.) Not one of the women commemorated in these volumes either possessed or did anything to deserve a place in history. Excepting the chance distinction of being a queen, not one of them has a claim to be remembered by posterity, unless it be the unfortunate Queen Caroline, wife of George IV. Yet Dr. Doran has contrived to make a very interesting and not altogether uninteresting record of lives which, for the most part, were uneventful. Many incidents in the history of some of these women, and some traits of their characters, must have appealed irresistibly to the author's love of the ludicrous. As a picture of the domestic life of the Georges, and as containing portraits of some of the principal personages of their times, these volumes possess considerable interest and importance. Dr. Doran is a sparkling writer, and has succeeded, in more than one instance, in making a very entertaining book out of a very trivial subject.

The Christ of History. An argument grounded in the Facts of His Life on Earth. By JOHN YOUNG, M. A. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1855.)

This is a reprint from the London edition of a work, which ought to receive greater attention in this country than it has hitherto secured. We regard it as decidedly the ablest exhibition of the character and claims of Jesus Christ, which has appeared for many years. The argument, though not absolutely new, is yet original in the method of treatment. The author assumes nothing but the simple historical facts in the Life of Christ, such as Strauss or any other sceptical writer would be willing to concede, irrespective of all miraculous claims, and on this ground alone vindicates His supreme divinity. The style of the work is remarkably simple and energetic, being completely free from the glare and tinsel of most of our modern "fine writings," and distinguished by apt and elegant expression. The work breathes also a noble Christian spirit. We trust it will receive an extensive circulation, especially among inquiring minds.

The Contrast between Good and Bad Men, illustrated by the Biography and Truths of the Bible. By GARDINER SPRING, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 417, 413.) The design of the venerable author of these beautifully printed volumes is to show the relative value of religion and irreligion by their respective effects in the lives and characters of men as related in the sacred record. It is a very judicious attempt to test the religion of the gospel by its fruits. The author vindicates the wisdom of the Christian by the truths which he receives, the motives which influence him, the duties he performs, the restraints he imposes on himself, the principles which give tone to his character, the hopes which animate him, the life he leads, and the death he dies. Dr. Spring's style, though not remarkable for vivacity and grace, is yet clear and strong, and is generally the vehicle of good sense and scriptural views.

My Father's House, or the Heaven of the Bible. By JAMES M. MAC-

DONALD, D. D. (New York: C. Scribner. 1855. 12mo, pp. 376. It is impossible, putting aside all curious and merely speculative views, for the Christian to think too much on the subject of his heavenly home. Hence the importance of a work which shall distinctly and soberly state the revelations of the Bible on so great a theme. We have been much gratified in the perusal of Dr. Macdonald's book. It is at once safe and profitable for Christian readers. He confines himself for the most part to the clear revelations of the Scriptures, and rarely branches off into unauthorized speculation. We cheerfully commend this volume to our readers.

ARTICLE VIII.--LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

THE most noted book which has come into circulation during the past quarter, in theological circles, especially among Baptists, is that of Dr. Sheldon's on *Sin and Redemption*. It is reviewed in our present number. The first edition was soon exhausted; but its publishers have decided, we understand not to issue a second. The sentiments of Dr. Sheldon respecting the atonement remind us of those recently promulgated in England, and which are giving rise to some concern. We allude to those contained in the *Commentaries* of Rev. B. Jewett, Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford, on the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Thessalonians.

The two new volumes of Macaulay's *History* have been issued in this country since our last. It has been issued by several houses, and in more varied editions than houses. Their reception gave rise to great enterprise on the part of publishers. Philips, Sampson & Co. had their edition set up, stereotyped, printed, bound, in seven days. The sale of this history has been unprecedented, both in the United States and England. A brief notice of these volumes will be found on a preceding page: a more extended article on both these and the former may be given in a future number of this journal. A fifth volume may be expected very soon: it is said to be in press.

Among biographies, that of *Amos Lawrence* (which was issued about the time our January number went to press), has been deservedly popular. An octavo and duodecimo have been published, and several thousands of each sold.

The *Song of Hiawatha*, by Longfellow, is enjoying an extensive sale. 20,000 have been issued, and the demand continues. The critics differ widely in their opinions respecting it. It undoubtedly displays great poetic talent. All the world is reading it; its effect is charming. It is republished in London. Apropos, Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce *The Myth of Hiawatha, and other Oral, Mythological and Allegorical Legends of the North American Indians*. By Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D.

The American Journal of Education and College Review, which consisted

of the fusion of two educational works, and which began the year as a monthly, has since separated again. *The American Journal of Education*, edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D., Hartford, is to appear henceforth bi-monthly. March number is in circulation: the next will be issued in May. The position of the *College Review* we have not learned.

Mr. C. B. Norton will not issue his list of new books published in the United States during the year 1855 until May next. We have seen a specimen copy, and, from a rough estimate, judge that about 2,000 volumes were published. Mr. Norton proposes to continue this useful work annually.

The Hebrews have decided to found a University in Cincinnati.

Efforts have recently been made to unite the Theological Schools of Yale College and East Windsor.

The Smithsonian Institution has received as a present from the University of Jena, a copy of the original work of Otto de Euerick—inventor of the air-pump—folio; 1672. It contains an engraving illustrating the celebrated experiment of the Magdeburg hemispheres.

The third volume of the *Life of Washington*, by Mr. Irving, is nearly ready. It will be followed by certainly another. Material has accumulated on the author's hands far beyond his expectations. Some of it has recently been discovered.

Seventeen hundred subscribers have been obtained for Agassiz's great work, *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*. The number of subscribers is limited to 2,000. The success of the enterprise is considered complete. The first volume will be ready in June.

Crocker & Brewster announce a new edition of Robinson's great standard work, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea*. The three volumes of the former edition will be compressed into two, and a volume of entirely new matter added.

Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have issued a second edition of Dr. Warren's great work, *The Mastodon Giganteus of North America*. The former edition was not offered for sale, but was distributed among universities, learned societies and individuals, in this country and other parts of the world.

The January number of *Brownson's Quarterly* contains an article in review of one in our issue of October last—*Transcendental Road to Rome*. We saw it too late to give it anything more than a cursory glance.

The *Memoirs of Dr. Cone*, by his sons, are nearly ready.

Harper & Brothers will publish the twelfth and concluding volume of Grote's *History of Greece*, as soon as they can obtain a good portrait of the distinguished author. This is the best Grecian history extant.

The same house also announces the *History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852*, by Sir Archibald Allison. The fifth volume of this work, bringing the history of France down to 1837, of England to 1834, of Germany to 1848, and of Turkey and Greece to 1841, has just been published in London.

A new work is announced by Appleton & Co. from the pen of the author of the "Wide, Wide World," entitled *The Hills of the Shatemuc*.

A *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*, by Henry Clay Fish, is announced by M. W. Dodd.

An edition of *Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia*, by Professor Lincoln, is announced by Appleton & Co.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. announce *The Earnest Man: a Life of Dr. Judson*. By M. Conant. This is to be a smaller work than that of Dr. Wayland. It will meet a want which has long been felt. It has the approbation of Dr. Wayland: and the profits will be devoted to the benefit of the family.

Mr. Conant has been engaged also, for some time, on a *Popular History of English Bible Translations*. It will soon be issued by Messrs. Sheldon Blakeman & Co.

The *Commentaries of Olshausen*, edited by Professor Kendrick, of Rochester University, and so long announced, will, it is said, soon go to press. The first volume may be expected early in the Summer. Messrs. Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. are to be the publishers.

The *Sermons of the Rev Mr. Spurge*, (a young man who is now creating considerable sensation in London), with a sketch of his life, will soon be issued by the same house.

Several other works of interest have been issued or announced during the past quarter by various houses. Some of them, we hope, will receive more extended notice in our next. We have only space to add the titles of a few which have met our eye: *Lives of J. M. Mason, Kitto, Taleyrand, and Dr. Scudder*. *The Suffering Saviour*: by Krummacher. *Cyclopædia of Biography*: by F. L. Hawks. *Philosophy of History*: by W. E. T. Shedd. Liddell's *History of Rome*. Benton's *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*. A new *Latin Dictionary*, from the press of Messrs. Lippincott & Co. Hayne's *History of the Baptist Denomination*. Dean Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*.

Appleton's *Cyclopædia of Biography* has been received. A notice of this excellent work will appear in our next issue.

ENGLAND.

Considerable stir has been occasioned in England, owing to the rumored heterodoxy of the Queen. The true solution of the uproar appears to be, that her Majesty thinks with Archbishop Tillotson, that charity is above rubrics. The occasion of this stir is hinted in a notice, given in another part of this number, of a sermon by Dr. Caird.

Since our last issue, Samuel Rogers the well known banker and poet, and long a patron of learning and literary men has died. He leaves, it is said, five volumes of memoirs. *Recollections of his Table Talk* have been published by Rev. A. Dyce, and are already reprinted in the United States. Josiah Conder, for twenty-three years editor of the *Patriot*, and proprietor of the *Eclectic Review* has also recently deceased.

A new review has been projected to be carried on by the members of Cambridge and Oxford Universities and by others.

Several American books have been recently reprinted in England. Among these are W. H. Prescott's *History of Philip the Second*; *History of Ruth*, by Dr. Tyng; *Illustrations of Scripture*, by H. B. Hackett; *Oliver Cromwell*, by F. L. Hawks; *God revealed in creation and in Christ*, by J. B. Walker; and the first volume of *Princeton Essays*. The latter are received with great favor.

Paleairo's famous work on the benefits of Christ's death, supposed, under

the exterminating efforts of Rome, to have entirely disappeared, has recently been found in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Its popularity in the 16th century was immense. In Venice alone 40,000 copies were issued. It was translated into several languages. In view of its past history it will excite attention.

The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January, republishes an article from our October number—*Essence and End of Infidelity*.

Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* arranged under subjects and pointing out the best books on each, is in active preparation, and will be ready for the press about the end of the year.

The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is progressing. The 10th volume, just issued, contains a biography of Gibbon, by H. Rogers, of Goethe, by De Quincey, and of Goldsmith by Macaulay.

The *London Gazette* in a series of volumes from its commencement in 1675 to 1834 is in the London market.

A volume is in course of preparation entitled *Vital Statistics*, which will contain a record and biographical notice of about 4000 cases of persons who have attained the age of 100 years.

Faraday has published a third volume of *Experimental Researches in Electricity*. They are said to be "among the most important that the century has produced."

Faith in God and modern atheism compared in their essential nature, theoretic grounds, and practical influence, is the title of a new work by J. Buchanan, successor of Dr. Chalmers, as professor of Theology in the new College, Edinburgh. The material for this work, was made up by the author while occupying the Chair of apologetic theology. It is divided into four parts, the third of which is most valuable, because most practical. Several of its chapters have been published in separate forms for more general circulation.

The Hebrew text of the Old Testament has been revised by S. Davidson. It is an attempted improvement on the received one of Hooghtius. The whole text is not included; but only the parts needing emendation. But little use is made of the more extended labors of Kennicott and De Rossi.

Part first of a work entitled *Christ and other Masters* by C. Hardwick, has been published. It is valuable as grappling with present difficulties and objections. It combats the absolute religion of F. Newman, Mackey, and Theodore Parker.

A translation, by Rev. T. Meyer, from the German, of the *Internal history of German Protestantism*, by Dr. C. F. A. Kalmis, puts the English reader in possession of a valuable work. Dr. Kalmis is Ultra Lutheran in his views; but he gives us biographical notices of the leading men in the church "from Leibnitz and Wolff, to Tholuck, Neander, and Hengstenberg." Mr. Meyer has not altered the text except to occasionally interpose an exclamation, (!) which, perhaps, is an unwarrantable liberty.

The following are among some interesting works which have been recently issued, or which are on the eve of publication: *History of German Literature*, based on the work of Vilmar, by the Rev. F. Metcalfe; *Tholuck's commentary on the Psalms*, translated; a cheap edition of the entire works of J. Wesley; a work on Daniel and Revelation, by Prof. Auberhen; *Principles of Prophetic Interpretation*, by Prof. Fairbairn; *Cambridge Essays*, the counterpart of the Oxford; *Index to Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. 1 to 50; *Memoirs of Ralph Wardlaw*, by W. L. Alexander; *Miscellaneous Pamphlets* on some of the leading questions agitated in the church during the last ten years, by Julius Charles Hare; *Difficulties of belief in connection with the Creation and Fall*, by Rawson Birks; *Truth of the Evangelic History, in opposition to D. F. Strauss*, by Wm. Gillespie.

GERMANY.

The German press is as prolific as ever. From a recent statement we gather, that during the first six months of 1855, 3876 volumes were published. At this rate; at the end of the year the number would amount to 7,752.

The reaction in philosophy and theology in Germany is said to be becoming more and more marked. This testimony in philosophy is witnessed in Weisse and A. F. Gröver, and in theology in Gruppe, Jessen, and Karl Forslaye.

The aged Professor Schlossen, of Heidelberg, has nearly completed his *Wellgischichte für des Deutsche Volk*, commenced by him in 1844.

Alexander Von Humboldt is still employed in completing his *Cosmos*.

Dr. Ed. Vehse, author of *Geschichte de Deutscheu Höfe*, has been imprisoned at Berlin, owing, it is said, to the contents of the last two volumes, which have been confiscated.

Dr. Pauli has published a second volume of his *Geschichte von England*. The history is brought down in it to the end of the fourteenth century.

St. Thomas of Canterbury, and his struggle for liberty, is the title of a new work by J. F. Buss.

A sixth volume of GIESLER'S *Church History*, containing the history of doctrine down to the Reformation, is announced.

The second volume of *Christology*, by THOMASIVS of Erlangen, is published. It is wholly devoted to the person of Vit, and is able, learned, and Lutheran. Another volume will complete the work.

Dr. B. WEISS has written on the *Doctrinal System of Peter*; Dr. C. PRANTL an *History of Logic in the West*; E. FEUERLEIN on the *Ethics of Vy. in its leading historical forms*.

The learned Dr. BUNSEN has recently published two volumes entitled *The Signs of the Times*. A favorite scheme in Prussia for some time has been to unite Lutheran and Reformed into one Evangelical Church. It has not been attended with the success hoped for. Dr. Bunsen advocates as a necessity the congregational principles based on liberty of conscience and personal conviction.

FRANCE.

During the year 1855 there has been printed in France 8,325 books and pamphlets. This is a larger number than in any preceding year for the last forty-four, except 1825. Since 1811, 271,994 volumes have been issued.

Cheap literature, or what is called in France "railway reading," is becoming very plentiful.

Guizot is said to be engaged on a new work on English history.

A collection of old French poetry, from the earliest times, is about to appear, in forty volumes, under the auspices of the government.

The works of Dr. Channing have been translated into French. Also Ranke's *History of France in the 15th and 16th centuries*.

Histoire de Règne de Louis 16th. This is another work by M. CAPEFIGUE, a voluminous historian.

The prize offered by the Academy of Moral and Political Science for a history of the French Monarchy from Philip Augustus to Louis XIV., has been obtained by A. Chevreul. It is published in two volumes.

Those wishing to send orders for books will find it to their advantage to notice the advertisement of WILLIAM K. CORNWELL, in the following sheets. Mr. Cornwell has an extensive acquaintance with members of the trade, and will take particular pains to supply every article in the line procurable at the time the order is received.